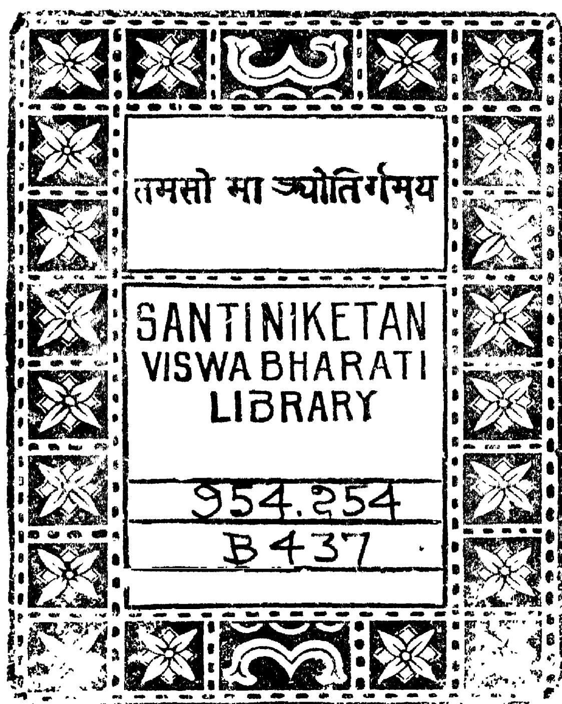


HISTORY OF JAHANGIR

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BY

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EXTRACTS FROM THE PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

THE object of the present work is to fill a gap in Indian historical literature. So far back as 1788, Francis Gladwin published a short history of 'The Reign of Jahangir,' but it was practically a summary of the Maasir-i-Jahangiri. Elphinstone made some use of a few European accounts and of Price's spurious Memoirs of the Emperor Jahangir but he was content mainly to condense the version of the brilliant eighteenth century historian, Khafi Khan. Most of the later writers have relied on Elphinstone.

Here, for the first time, the contemporary Persian chronicles, such as the Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Motamad Khan's Iqbalnama, Kamghar Husaini's Maasir-i-Jahangiri, the Fath Kangara, the Makhzan Afghani, and others, have been fully sifted and utilized. The numerous contemporary European itineraries and letters, covering thousands of pages, have been critically examined and made to yield whatever results they are capable of. The Rajput sources have likewise been drawn upon. Nor have the later Indian and European records been neglected. Some new farmans and grants of the Emperor Jahangir were discovered and used for purposes of verification.

It has thus been possible to give a continuous narrative of all the important political and military transactions of Jahangir's reign. From a critical study of the original authorities, the character of the Emperor is seen to be widely different from what it is commonly believed to have been. My conclusion about Jahangir's responsibility for the death of Sher Afkun, the first husband of Nur Jahan Begam, may strike the reader as novel, but I may be permitted to state that it is based on the critical examination of all available evidence. There is nothing to prove that Jahangir had ever seen Nur Jahan (or Miherunnisa as she was then called) before her first marriage, while there is every reason to believe that he sought neither the life nor the wife of Sher Afkun. The Emperor's marriage with Sher Afkun's widow came

off in the way in which numerous marriages took place. The nature, character, and results of the Nur Jahan ascendancy have been analysed.

The fourth chapter discusses the character and working of Mughal Government, partly in terms of political science, from a new angle of vision. My conclusions may not command universal assent, but I may be permitted to state that they are the result of prolonged study.

I have aimed throughout at a simple style. On a few occasions, as in my description of the building of Fathepur Sikri, I was led, in spite of myself, to adopt the phraseology of Gibbon, whom I happened to be studying but, I hope, I have been able to avoid all bombast and affectation.

I must gratefully acknowledge the generous loan, or permission to get copies, of books or manuscripts in the possession of the authorities of the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Bankipore; the Imperial Library, Calcutta; St. Xavier's College, Calcutta; the Jain Siddhanta Bhavan, Arrah; the India Office, London; the Fort Museum, Delhi; Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Jodhpur, Banaras, and Chhatarpur and the Nawab of Rampur. L. Sri Ram, M.A., very generously permitted me to get copies of historical pictures in his possession.

Allahabad. BENI PRASAD

EXTRACT FROM THE PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

I have corrected certain minor errors, added a little additional matter and generally tried to bring the book up-to-date.

University of
Allahabad
1930

BENI PRASAD

NOTE TO THE THIRD EDITION

I have taken advantage of the issue of the Third Edition to correct a few slips.

University of
Allahabad
19-2-40

BENI PRASAD

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ILLUSTRATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS

A. D.	Anno Domini.
A. H.	Anno Hijrea (The Muslim era).
Ain	Ain-i-Akbari by Abul Fazl, translated by Blochmann and Jarrett.
A. N.	Akbarnama.
Badauni	Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh by Abdul Qadir Badauni edited by Colonel Lees.
Blochmann	Abul Fazl's Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I, translated by Henry Blochmann.
Dabistan	Dabistan-ul-Mazahib.
E. and D.	Sir Henry M. Elliott and Professor John Dowsons's History of India as told by its own Historians. 1867—77.
Elphinstone	A History of India by the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone with notes and editions by E. B. Cowell.
I. G.	Imperial Gazetteer of India.
Inn. Ant.	Indian Antiquary.
Iqbalnama	Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri by Motamad Khan.
Jarrett	Abul Fazl's Ain-i-Akbari, Vols. II & III, translated by Jarrett.
J. B. A. S.	Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society.
J. Bomb. B. R. A. S.	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

J. P. H. S.	Journal of the Punjab Historical Society.
J. R. A. S.	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
K. K.	Khafi Khan, Muntakhab-ul-lubab.
K. T.	Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh by Sujan Ray.
M. U.	Maasir-ul-umara by Shamsamud-daulah Shah Nawaz Khan, edited by H. Beveridge.
Purchas	Purchas His Pilgrims.
R. and B.	Rogers and Beveridge.

A NOTE ON CHRONOLOGY

A Muslim year, called the Hejri, consists of the following months. The number of days in each month is shown in brackets:—Muharram (30); Saffar (29); Rabi I (30); Rabi II (29); Jamad I (30); Jamad II (29); Rajab (30); Shaban (29); Ramzan (30); Shawwal (29); Zilqada (30); Zil Hijja (29). Total number of days in the Muslim year is 354.

In every cycle of thirty years, the 2nd, 5th, 7th, 10th, 13th, 16th, 18th, 21st, 24th, 26th and 29th have each an additional day. Thus a cycle comprises 10,631 days.

The Muslim era began in A.D. 622.

The months of the Ilahi year are named as follows:—
Farwardin (31); Urdibihisht (31); Khurdad (32); Tir (31); Amurdad (31); Shahryar (31); Mihr (30); Aban (30); Azad (29); Di (29); Bahman (30) ; Isfandarmuz (30). Total number of days in the Ilahi year is 365 days.



PRINCE SALIM ON HORSEBACK

(From a painting in the possession of L. Sri Ram, M.A., Delhi)

HISTORY OF JAHANGIR

CHAPTER I

BOYHOOD

Birth.

JAHANGIR was born on Wednesday noon, August 30, 1569.[1] His father Akbar, the grandson of the founder of the Mughal Empire, had completed twenty-seven years of his age, thirteen of his reign, and nine of his personal rule.

The Mughal Empire in 1569.

His genius and valour, trained by the veteran warrior and statesman, Bairam Khan, the real author of the Mughal restoration (1555–1560), had converted the small tottering principality bequeathed by Humayun (1530–1542, 1555-6) into the biggest and mightiest kingdom south of the Himalayas. He ruled directly over the Indo-Gangetic plains except Bengal, the dumping-ground of all the disorderly elements and dispossessed chiefs in north India. He exercised a nominal suzerainty over Kabul and, since 1564, over the rather primitive Gondwana, roughly the modern Bundelkhand and Central Provinces. But Rajputana formed the scene of his most striking feats in arms, diplomacy and statesmanship. Art and nature had concurred to form the well-nigh impregnable fortress of Chittor. Valour and heroism, second to none in history, strained their utmost resources in its defence. But Mughal science and skill, courage and

1 Abul Fazl's (tr. Beveridge II. 503) Ilahi date, 18th Shahriywar, works out to August 30 and not to 31 as in Rogers' and Beveridge's translation of Jahangir's Memoirs (I, 2) and Keen's History of Hindustan I, p. 104. The Hijri date is 17 Rabi I. 977. See Ferishta (Briggs) II. 233. Badauni (Lowe) II, 124. Muhammad Hadi, p. 4. Maasir-ul-umara II, pp. 554-5 Arif Qandahari, Rampur MS., pp. 94-5. Jahangir (R. and B.) I. 2. Maasir-i-Jahangiri (Khudabaksh MS.), p. 3. Nizamuddin Ahmad (E and D. V. 334) gives 18th Rabi I. which is strange in a historian generally so accurate. Gladwin (p. 1) gives August 29, while Price (p. 4) adopts the year 978 A. H. and goes wrong by a year.

perseverance, brought it down early in 1568 with a crash that was heard all over the Indian world. Ranthambhor and Kalinjar, second to Chittore alone in strength and fame among the Rajput strongholds, followed suit. Already the policy of conciliation and concord, which prudence and generosity alike inculcated, was in full swing. The most tender of human relationships was, as usual among monarchs, pressed into the service of statecraft. No marriage in mediæval Indian history was, politically, so happy and fruitful, as the one contracted by Akbar with the daughter of Raja Bhar Mal of Amber in January, 1562.[2] It symbolized the dawn of a new era in Indian politics; it gave the country a line of remarkable sovereigns; it secured to four generations of Mughal emperors the serivces of some of the greatest captains and diplomats that mediæval India produced.

Birth and death of Akbar's children, 1562—1568.

Unfortunate, indeed, had been the lot of the children hitherto born to Akbar. The birth and death of a daughter, christened Fatima Banu Begam, in 1562-3, was followed by the appearance of twins in 1564. 'The carpet of joy was spread from shore to shore,' writes the grandiloquent court historian, 'and happiness was proclaimed to mankind'. They were named Mirza Hasan and Husain after the grandsons of the prophet Muhammad but, in a month 'the two unique pearls . . . returned to the ample domain of the other world.'[3] The same cruel fate snatched away the other infants who saw the light during the next four years.[4]

Akbar's prayers for an heir.

While success, dazzling in its brilliance and magnificent in its results, crowned the public activities of Akbar, his mind was tortured by the domestic mishaps. He was only twenty-five, but his extraordinary precocious nature had already developed its paternal

2 A. N. (Beveridge) II. 242. Nizamuddin (E. and D. V.), 273-4 M. U. II. 113.
Bhar Mal is often mistakenly named as Bahara Mal or Bihari Mal. Internal dissensions in Amber led the rival parties to bid for Mughal support and were partly responsible for the marriage. See the Amber Raja Banshavali, Jaipur M.S., p. 63.

3 A. N. (Beveridge II. 356-7.

4 A. N. (Beveridge) II. 503. Nizamuddin (E. and D. V.) 332. Ferishta (Brigs) II, 233. Badauni II. 108. (Lowe), p. 112. Price, 3, 4.

feelings to their full strength. Not content with addressing fervid incessant prayers to the Almighty Father, he sought the intercession of saints, living and dead. Every year he bowed at the tomb of Shaikh Muinuddin Chisti[5] at Ajmere--the holiest of Muslim shrines in India. As soon as the one dear wish of his heart were accomplished, he vowed in all solemnity to make a pilgrimage on foot to that sacred spot. Repeatedly he visited, and sojourned for weeks with Shaikh Salim Chistri, the most renowned of contemporary Muslim sages in India.[6]

Shaikh Salim Chisti, 1479–1570.

Shaikh Salim came of a noble and illustrious stock, for he traced his pedigree to Farukh Shah, King of Kabul. His immediate ancestors were settled at Delhi, where he himself was born in 1479 A.D. He sat at the feet of Khwajah Ibrahim, a spiritual descendant of Khwajah Fuzail Ibn Iyaz—names which connoted much to that generation—and soon acquired the first place in his master's estimation. Twice he left India to spend twenty-two years in Muslim seminaries and hermitages in Arabia, Syria, Asia Minor and Mesopotamia. While abroad, he never failed to visit Mecca every year and Medina pretty frequently, spending altogether over eight years in the two holy cities. He acquired perfect mastery over all schools of Islamic theology and practised the most austere penances, but long meditation inclined him to Sufism—to living personal faith in a living personal God with a longing for direct communion with Him. Later, when Shaikh Man of Panipat asked him, 'Was it induction or revelation that was the means of your attaining to your goal?' he replied at once, 'Our means is "heart to heart."' His fame spread far and wide over Western Asia. His designation, Shaikh of India, proclaimed him to be the foremost of the numerous pilgrims from India. His final return to his native land in 1564 created a stir in learned and religious circles. He settled with his family—for

5 Muinuddin was the grandson of Shaikh Maudud and son of Khwajah Hasan, of Seistan. He travelled widely in Central and Western Asia and lived with Shaikh Usman Haruni as a disciple for twenty years. His reputation for learning and sanctity stood high. See Badauni III. (Haig). 87.

6 A. N. (Beveridge) II. 502-3. 519. Nizamuddin E. and D. V.) 333, 334. Badauni (Lowe) II. 127. Jahangir (R. and B.) I. 1. 2. Muhammad Hadi, 3.

he had married and had several children—at Sikri on the ridge twenty-four miles west of Agra. Here he lived the austere life of a true mediæval saint. Twice a day he bathed in cold water. Not even when exposed on the rock to the inclemencies of the hardest winter in his extreme old age, did he wear anything more than a thin cotton shirt and a thin muslin upper garment. The Chillahgah, the scene of his severest penances, is still pointed out, enclosed within the buildings which crown the ridge. Yet he was too enlightened to renounce all connection with his family or with the world. He sheltered and helped Shaikh Mubarik, the father of Abul Fazl and Faizi, whom fanatical persecution had driven from Agra. He trained a number of disciples—Kamal of Alwar, Piyara of Bengal, Husain the Khadim, Fathullah Tarim of Sambhal, Ruknuddin of Ajudhan—who faithfully transmitted the torch of the master to posterity.[7]

Akbar at Sikri.

The premier saint and scholar was close on ninety years and had been invested by the popular imagination with miraculous powers, when he was approached by the mighty Emperor of Hindustan to raise his voice in prayer for an heir to the throne. The venerable sage complied and not long after assured the royal suppliant of the early fulfilment of his longings. The Emperor vowed to throw the infant on the protection of the Shaikh, who consented to his name being bestowed on him. The repeated Imperial visits and sojourns resulted in a rapid transformation of the aspect of Sikri. The old mean hermitage gave place to a fine monastery and a finer mosque. On the summit of the ridge rose a splendid palace for the Emperor. Nor were the nobles slow to take the hint and erect beautiful mansions for their residence.[8]

[7] Badauni III. (Haig) 18—27. Darbar Akbari 790—96. A. N. (Beveridge) II. 503, M. U. (Beveridge) I. 169-70. Beale's Miftahut Tawarikh 179, 182, Latif, Agra 162—4. Blochmann's notice (p. 539) is too short.
Moneserrate's (Commentarius p. 642) remark that the Shaikh was 'stained with all the wickedness and disgraceful conduct of Muhammadans' is prompted by bigotry.

[8] Nizamuddin (E. and D. V.) 332-3. Badauni (Lowe) II. 112. Ferishta (Briggs) II. 233. M. U. (Beveridge) I. 169. Maasir-i-Jahangiri, 3, 4.
Jahangir (R. and B.) I. p. 2, embellishes the simple story. 'One day,' he writes, 'waiting on him (Shaikh Salim) and in a state of distraction, he

Early in 1569 the Rajput princess, Maryam-Uz-Zamani, as she was officially styled, showed signs of pregnancy. She was transferred with her attendants and establishments from 'unlucky' Agra to the vicinity of the ancient sage. The Emperor alternated his residence between Agra and Sikri and passed the interval in anxious expectation. On a Friday, while hunting with cheetahs, he was informed that the infant did not make the usual movement in the womb. He at once made, and always observed, a vow never to hunt with cheetahs on Fridays.[9]

Maryam-Uz-Zamani at Sikri.

Not long afterwards the infant was safely ushered into the world.[10] The news found Akbar at Agra. In obedience to an old superstition which prohibited the father from the sight of a long-expected child till many days after its birth, the Emperor had to forego the joy of an immediate visit to Sikri, but he ordered a

Birth of Prince Salim.

(Akbar) asked him how many sons he should have. The Shaikh replied, "The Giver who gives without being asked will bestow three sons on you." My father said, "I have made a vow that casting my first son on the skirt of your favour, I will make your friendship and kindness his protector and preserver." The Shaikh accepted this idea and said, "I congratulate you and I will give him my own name."'

9 No chronicler mentions the Rajput name of Jahangir's mother. Sujan Rai (Khulasat ut Tawarikh, Delhi edition, 1918, p. 374) alone mentions the official designation. Abul Fazl (Beveridge II. 503) refers only to 'the matrix of the sun of fortune'; Ferishta (Briggs II. 233) to 'the favourite Sultana'; Nizamuddin (E. and D. V. 333) and Badauni (Lowe) II. 112 to one of the Emperor's wives. Blochmann (p. 310) at first supposed her to be Jodhbai, but later (p. 619), corrected himself. Beveridge (J. A. S. B., 1887, I. pp. 164—7) once argued that she was Sultana Salima Begam, the widow of Bairam Khan, but the position is untenable. The account of the affair in Keene (Hand Book Guide to Agra, p. 58), adopted also by G. W. Forest (Cities of India Past, and Present, p. 195) bristles with gross mistakes of fact and date. So also the District Gazetteer of Agra, pp. 147-8.

The later Persian accounts by Khafi Khan, Bakhtawar Khan, etc., add nothing to our information on the point.

10 Legend soon gathered round the birth. 'At the time of the royal visit, the hermit, it is said, had a baby son, aged six months, who, seeing his father buried one day in deep reflection after a visit from Akbar, suddenly broke silence by asking why he sent away the Conqueror of the World in despair.' Accustomed to portents, the holy man calmly answered that all the Emperor's children were fated to die in infancy unless some gave a child of his own to die instead. 'By your reverence's permission, re-

week's general rejoicings. Gifts and alms were showered in lavish profusion. Free tables were kept. Prisoners were set at liberty. 'Delight', says Abul Fazl, 'suffused the brain of the age.' Poets and versifiers gathered from far and near to pour in hundreds of odes of congratulation. Nothing could exceed the ingenuity and mastery of expression, or the shallowness of sentiment which they displayed. Khwajah Husain of Merv carried the palm by lines which alternately gave the dates of Akbar's accession and the infant's birth and which yet showed some genuine poetic merit.[11] A prize of two lakhs of tankas rewarded his skill. Gifts, lower in value but still magnificent enough, went to Shaikh Yakub of Kashmir, 'that Shaikh of nations' and

joined the courteous but forward infant, 'I will die that His Majesty may no longer want an heir.' Then, without waiting to give his father time to forbid the sacrifice, the wondrous child at once expired. Nine months later the prince came into the world.' H. G. Keene (Hand Book to Agra, p. 59). The suspicion, thrown out by Keene on the basis of this myth, 'that the prince was a child substituted by the faqir for a royal infant that was still-born' (*Ibid*), is in flagrant contradiction to all authorities, while the 'less charitable solution' hinted here and explicitly suggested on p. III, dishonorable to the saint and the Empress alike, is simply baseless and deserves absolutely no consideration.

The birth-chamber of the prince is still pointed out within a ruinous palace to the south-west of the Jami Masjid and near the stone-cutters' Masjid. The building was originally called the Rang Mahal. The chamber is on the ground-floor and is in a most filthy condition. It measures some 9′ 6″ by 8′ 4″, is only 10′ 0″ high, is windowless and is devoid of all decoration. A single plain column stands almost in the centre of the room. The walls have been blocked up and the entrance is from a low. dirty colonnade about 10′ 0″ high. The chamber is within the Zenana (female) quarters of the present occupant, Tajamm-ul-Hussain, a lineal descendant of Shaikh Salim, and is therefore but rarely shown to visitors. (E. W. Smith, Moghul Architecture of Fatehpur Sikri, Part III. p. 10.)

11 The complete ode may be read in Badauni (Persian Text) II. 120–123 and Lowe. II. 125–127, Beale's Miftahi Tawarikh, pp. 309-10 and the Iqbalnama. It is given in part in A. N. (Persian Text) II. 348 and Beveridge II. 507-508.

The first six lines may be quoted from Beveridge's translation:—

God be praised for the glory of the King.
A splendid pearl came ashore from the ocean of justice.
A bird alighted from the nest of grandeur.
A star appeared from the zenith of glory and beauty.
Such a rose bush cannot be shown in the parterre.
Such a tulip has not opened in the tulip-bed.

to the lesser poetic lights.[12] The astrologers cast two horoscopes of the prince according to the Indian and Greek canon, though both of them give the same sign, Mizan or Libra.[13]

On the first day of his existence, the prince was suckled by his god-father's daughter-in-law, mother of the infant Bayazid, the future Muazzam Khan, but on the second day he was made over to the Shaikh's daughter, mother of Khubu, the future ill-fated Qutbuddin. The lady brought him up with a warmth of affection and an amount of care which made an ineffaceable impression on his mind. He always venerated her as his mother and mourned her loss in 1607 in touching language.[14]

The Prince's nurses.

The child was christened Muhammad Sultan Salim, but his pet name was Shaikhu Baba. Akbar, indeed, never called the offspring of his prayers and pilgrimages by any other name.[15] In the day of happiness, the Emperor did not forget the vow he had taken in the year of anxiety. Leaving the capital on Friday, January 20, 1570, and walking on an average fourteen miles a day, he reached Ajmere on Sunday, February 5, and straightway went to bow and pray at the shrine. The journey of 228 miles prompted

Akbar's pilgrimage on foot.

12 For the rejoicings at Salim's birth see—
A. N. (Beveridge) II, 504-5.
Nizamuddin (E. and D. V.) 334.
Badauni (Lowe) II. 124, 127.
Blochmann 574.
A few samples of the chronograms may be given—
1. Guhar-i-durj-i-Akbarshahi (A pearl of Akbarshahi's casket).
2. Dar-i-shawar-l-lahaja Akbar (A royal pearl of the great Ocean).
3. Shah-at-i-Timur.

13 A. N. (Beveridge) II. 506-7. The horoscopes are reproduced in the Persian Text.
There is a portrait of 'Scene Outside the Birth Chamber,' 'Casting the Horoscope of the Emperor Jahangir,' in the Journal of Indian Art and Industry, Vol. XV, No. 120 plate 9.

14 Jahangir (R. and B.) I. 32, 84, 85.
Bochmann, 492.
Latif, Agra, 164.

15 'I never heard my father, whether in his cups or in his sober moments, call me Muhammad Salim or Sultan Salim, but always Shaikhu Baba.' Jahangir (R. and B.) I. 2. Badauni (Lowe) II. 390. Monserrate's Commentarius, p. 644. To the Jesuits, Salim was known as Shaikhu Ji. Maclagan, J. A. S. B., 1896., I. p. 51. Also de Laet.

by love and piety made a profound impression on contemporaries and posterity.[16]

But to the Emperor's iron frame and exhilarated mind, the march was a trivial affair. Fortune was now making him abundant amends for her erstwhile niggardliness. On Sunday, November 21, 1569, a royal concubine gave birth to a daughter, Shahzada Khanam.[17] Prince Murad saw the light on June 7, 1570, in the 'fortunate quarters' of Shaikh Salim at the hill of Sikri, whence he derived his nickname Pahari.[18] Two years more, and September 9, 1572, witnessed the birth of the third and youngest prince in the house of Shaikh Daniyal who lent him his name.[19] Some time after, Bibi Daulat Shad brought forth two daughters, Shakrunnisa Begam and Aram Banu Begam.[20]

Salim's brothers and sisters.

Shahzada Khanam Prince Murad.

Prince Daniyal.

Shakrunnisa Begam and Aram Banu Begum.

The domestic felicity had already induced the Emperor to abandon 'unlucky' Agra and fix the pomp and majesty of the throne at Sikri. Nor was he insensible to the ambition of founding a city which might perpetuate the glory of his reign and the gratitude of his heart. The ridge at Sikri aggravates the heat of the summer and the cold

The building of Fathpur Sikri.

16 A. N. (Beveridge) II. 510-11. Nizamuddin (E. and D. V.) 344. Ferishta (Briggs) II. 233. Jahangir (R. and B.) I. 2. Badauni (Lowe) II. 127. Muhammad Hadi, p. 4. Maasir-i-Jahangiri (Khuda Bakhsh MS.) p. 5 b. William Finch (Purchas IV. 41). De Laet (tr. Lethbridge) p. 72. Peter Mundy II. 226. Thevenot III., ch. XXVII, p. 49. Herbert (p. 61) mentions a legend that the emperor went on carpets. The later Persian historians, such as Khafi Khan, (Bakhtawar Khan, Sujanrai, all refer in glowing terms to the journey.

17 A. N. (Beveridge II. 509. Jahangir (R. and B.) I. 34. Price (p. 46) makes her Salima Begam's daughter, but the authentic version must be preferred. She was entrusted to the care of her grandmother, Hamida Banu Begum, officially styled Maryam Makani.

18 A. N. (Beveridge) II. 514. Nizamuddin (E. and D. V.) 335. Badauni (Lowe) II. 135-6. Ferishta (Briggs) II. 234. Jahangir (R. and B.) I. 34 expressely says that the prince's mother was a concubine. He, too, was known to the Jesuits by his pet name. Maclagan, J.A.S.B., 1896, I, 51.

19 A. N. (Beveridge) II. 542. Jahangir (R. and B.) 34.

20 Jahangir (R. and B.) I. 34.

of the winter; there is no contiguous river or lake to supply water to a large town. But nothing could move the autocratic sovereign from his resolve. The hillocks that spread for several miles and the forests that surrounded them supplied an inexhaustible stock of materials ready to be quarried and conveyed by the multitude of labourers and artificers whom the wealth and might of the Sovereign employed in the prosecution of the great work. Akbar urged the operations with the impatience of a lover, and a few years sufficed for the erection of a city, peerless in beauty of form, harmony of proportion, and measure of durability. The red sandstone ridge stretches over a mile from south-west to north-east. On both sides of it was enclosed a space nearly seven miles in circumference. On the western side an artificial lake, two miles long and half a mile wide, was excavated and dammed. It supplied the city with water and moderated the intense heat of the summer. On the other three sides were reared lofty walls of red stone, embattlemented at intervals, guarded by semi-circular bastions of rubble masonry and pierced by half-a-dozen gateways. A railway line runs through the area to-day; the traveller may still admire the circuit and solidity of the decayed rampart. The wide stretches of ground, which he now sees covered with green fields or overgrown with weeds, were then converted into beautiful gardens or elegant habitations. A large stone mart, more than half a mile long, which even in its dilapidated state strikes the eye by its beauty and symmetry, was laid out below the ridge. Monserrate saw it "filled with an astonishing quantity of every description of merchandise, and with countless people who are always standing there in dense crowds." The high officers and nobles erected at their own expense capacious mansions vying with one another in beauty of design and elegance of execution. But everything was thrown into the shade by the Imperial quarters that crowned the ridge.[21] The highest art of an epoch, fertile in aristic genius, was lavished on Jodhbai's

[21] The architecture of Fathpur Sikri has been studied, described and illustrated in the Archæological Survey of India by E. W. Smith in five volumes. The Moghul Architecture of Fathpur Sikri, published by the Government Press, Allahabad: see also Fergusson II. 290–7.

Mahal, the Jahangiri Mahal,[22] the Mahal-i-Khas (the Imperial palace),[23] the Diwan-i-Khas[24] (Private Hall of Audience), the Panch Mahal,[25] the Sonahara Makan (Golden House),[26] and Maryam's House.[27] The spacious Diwan-i-am (Public Hall of Audience),[28] Dafter Khana (Record Chamber),[29] the Naubat Khana (Drum House),[30] the Treasury[31] and the Mint[32] and the other public buildings, are marvels of architecture. The buildings which go by the names of Abul Fazl,[33] Faizi[34] and Raja Birbal[35] and the minor edifices would alone have sufficed to cast a halo of glory round the city. The ruins of the baths, arsenals and stables are still striking in appearance.

The habitation was guarded by a citadel, "two miles in circumference and embellished with towers at very frequent intervals, though" writes Monserrate, "it has only four gates. The Agarena gate is to the east, the Azimirana to the west, that of the Circus to the north, and that of Daulpuram to the south. The most striking of these is the Circus gate through which the king frequently descends to the Circus. For there stand in front of this gateway, which they seem to guard, two statues of elephants, with uplifted trunks and of life-size. These statues are so majestic and so true to life, that one might judge them to be the work of Phidias. Close to the Circus rises a pyramid from which are measured the distances for the mile stones (or rather half-mile stones for such they are), which have been placed after the Roman manner along the roads eastward to Agra and westward to Azimiris (Ajmere)."

22 E. W. Smith, II. pp. 1, 4; 17–31.
23 E. W. Smith, I. pp. 1–8.
24 *Ibid.*, 22–4.
25 *Ibid.*, 14–21.
26 *Ibid.*, 31–8.
27 *Ibid.*, 8–13.
28 E. W. Smith, III. 44–6.
29 *Ibid.*, 41–3.
30 E. W. Smith, III. 57-8.
31 *Ibid.*, 33–6.
32 *Ibid.*
33 *Ibid.*, 29-30.
34 *Ibid.*, 31-2.
35 E. W. Smith, Part. II. 1–15.

In April, 1572, died the venerable Shaikh Salim Chishti, and over his remains rose a mausoleum which ranks among the finest pieces of Indian architecture.[36] The great mosque is another marvel of beauty and elegance. The Buland Darwaza or lofty gateway on the southern side still fills the spectator with awe. It throws the mosque 'out of harmony by the magnificence of its principal gateway, a splendid object in itself, perhaps the finest in India, but placed where it dwarfs the mosque to which it leads and prevents the body of the building from having that pre-eminence which it ought to possess.' 'As it stands on a rising ground, when looked at from below, its appearance is noble beyond that of any portal attached to any mosque in India, perhaps in the world.'[37]

Jahangir remarks that buildings continued to be erected for fourteen or fifteen years,[38] but by far the greatest part of the city as well as the Imperial palaces was complete[39] by 1574. The population grew by leaps and bounds. As Gibbon remarks on the foundation of Constantinople, 'Wherever the seat of government is fixed, a considerable part of the public revenue will be expended by the prince himself, by his ministers, by the officers of justice, and by the domestics of the palace. The most wealthy of the provincials will be attracted by the powerful motives of interest and duty, of amusement and curiosity. A third and more numerous class of inhabitants will insensibly be formed, of servants, of artificers and of merchants who derive their subsistence from their own labour and from the wants or luxury of the superior ranks.' In a few years Sikri successfully disputed with Agra itself the pre-eminence in numbers, commerce and riches. The allotted space of ground was soon insufficient to contain the volume of trade and swell of people, and marts and suburbs extended all the distance to Agra. In 1585 Ralph Fitch, England's pioneer to India, judged Sikri superior to Agra in

36 E. W. Smith, III. 92-2.
Latif (Agra pp. 143–5) reproduces the inscriptions on the tomb.
37 Fergusson II., p. 580.
38 Jahangir (R. and B.) I. 2.
39 Monserrate (pp. 642-3) also says that the city was built very rapidly.

population, though inferior to it in point of streets and common houses and pronounced either of the two cities much greater than London. The highway between was one long market resembling a huge town. Among the articles of trade, he particularly remarked silk and cloth, rubies, diamonds, and pearls. The grandees drove in fine, two-wheeled carts, carved and gilt with gold, covered in silk, and drawn by two little bulls which could race with the fleetest horse.[40]

The city was named Fathabad or 'Abode of Victory' after the glorious termination of the Gujerat campaign in 1573 and the term was insensibly converted into Fathpur or 'City of Victory.'[41] It deserved the proud title for more than one reason. Its brilliant prosperity and commercial greatness constituted a triumph over nature which had denied it the advantages of an equable climate and a navigable river. But nature was not long in taking her revenge. The sultry heats were distressing to all; the facilities of water-communication were sadly missed by travellers and merchants; the deficiencies of the water-supply, in spite of the fine system of water-works on the lake, threatened disaster any moment. In 1582 the lake burst through its dam and nearly drowned the royal princes with their attendants. Time seemed to lift the curse that blighted Agra. Accordingly, in 1585, the court returned to Agra, followed by all its attendants and dependents. But the walls and palaces, the mosques and tombs, the baths and water-works, marts and gateways, ruins of fortifications, of quondam barracks and stables remain to extort the admiration of travellers from the four quarters of the world.[42] Eevn its present forlorn

Its desertion.

40 Ralph Fitch, England's Pioneer to India, edited by J. Horton Ryley, pp. 97–9.

41 A. N. (Beveridge) II. 531. Jahangir (R. and B.) I. 2.

42 For sixteenth and seventeenth century descriptions of Fathpur Sikri, see Ain, Jarrett II. 180-1. Jahangir (R. and B.) II. 71–3. Iqbalnama 122. Monserrate (Holyland and Banerje), pp. 30–32. Fitch, England's Pioneer to India, edited by Ryley, p. 98, or in Purchas IX. 174. Finch (Purchas IV. 41–3). De Laet (tr. Lethbridge, Calcutta Review LI, 1870, p. 71). Peter Mundy II. 227–31. Herbert, p. 61. For an eighteenth century account, Tieffenthaler I. 179.

condition has inspired some of the most eloquent pages in the diaries of travellers and works of art critics.[43]

It was however, in its short day of youthful vigour, freshness, and glory that it formed the cradle of Prince Salim. Here, in the brilliant court of the picturesque palace-city, we must fancy him nursed by the venerable Shaikh's daughter, petted by all, delighting the hearts of all. Akbar, who loved his children with all the intensity of his nature, evinced the keenest personal interest in their upbringing. He would often take them on his tours. On October 22, 1573, the three princes were circumcised with the usual festivities and rejoicings.[44] Nearly a month later began the education of Salim. It was the time-honoured Mughal custom that a prince should be placed under the charge of tutors as soon as he was (according to the Muslim calendar) four years, four months, and four days old. On November 18, 1573, Maulana Mir Kalan Haravi was duly installed as the first preceptor of the eldest prince.[45]

Salim's Circumcision.

Salim goes to School.

It is not generally known how clearly the Mughals recognized the necessity of a sound education and how profoundly they encouraged the arts and sciences. Timur, the founder of the dynasty, ranks among the scourges of mankind, but there is a bright side to the shield. 'In his familiar discourse,' says

Learning and education among the Mughals.

43 Besides E. W. Smith, Fergusson and Havell, see Bishop Heber II. 349—55. Latif's Agra, pp. 123—61, has an elaborate description.

44 A. N. (Beveridge) II. 102-3.
Nizamuddin (E. and D. V.) 370.
Badauni (Lowe) II. 173.
'The gates of liberality were opened, the materials of rejoicing were prepared, and there was a brilliant market of gifts......Joy left the private banqueting-hall and came to the public hall of audience....The acute can imagine what sumptuous liberality was displayed.' Abul Fazl. There is no warrant for the assertion of certain European travellers, such as Roe (Embassy, edited by Foster, p. 313), Coryat (Crudities unpaged), Salbancke (Letters received by the East India Company, VI. 185) that Jahangir was never circumcised or that the term Mughal meant circumcised.'

45 A. N. (Beveridge) III. 105-6.
Nizamuddin (E. and D. V.) 370.
Badauni (Lowe) II. 173.

Gibbon, 'he was grave and modest, and if he was ignorant of the Arabic language, he spoke with fluency and elegance the Persian and Turkish idioms. It was his delight to converse with the learned on topics of history and science.' His munificent liberality attracted scholars and poets from far and near. In the sack of Shiraz the life and property of the poet Hafiz were left unmolested. The historian Ibn Khaldun of Damascus was spared and favoured when his fellow-citizens experienced all the horrors of war and pillage. Timur converted Samarkand and Bokhara into centres of learning, culture and science. Some of the numerous schools, colleges and libraries that he founded endured far into the nineteenth century.[46]

Timur.

His successors, Miran Shah, Muhammad Sultan, Abu Said, Ulugh Beg and Umar Shaikh, worthily maintained his traditions. 'Their age has cast an undying lustre on the Turkish name, for their own culture attracted an array of scholars and men of science whose works recall the brightest days of Moorish dominion in Spain. Shah Rukh was a song-writer of no mean order, while Ulugh Beg won fame in the severer studies of the mathematician and the astronomer . . . The annals of this house are rendered illustrious by the names of poets, philosophers and theologians which are still household words in the East.'[47]

His successors.

Babur, who led the Chagatai Turks into India, owes his literary fame chiefly to his charming memoirs, but in the eyes of his contemporaries, he had many other claims to scholastic distinction. His cousin, Mirza Haidar Doughlat, points out that he was second only to Amir Ali Shir in the art of Turkish composition. 'He has written

Babur.

46 For Timur, the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo to the Court of Timur, 1403–6 A. D., with an Introduction by Sir Clements Markham. Hakluyt Society, 1859. Tarikh-i-Rashidi (Elias and Ross), Part I. Skrine and Ross, Heart of Asia, pp. 109–72. Malfuzat-i-Timuri or Tuzak-i-Timuri (E. and D.) III. 389–473. The Institutes of Timur, Davy and White.
Gibbon: Decline and Fall of Rome, Ch. LXV.

47 Skrine and Ross, Heart of Asia, 179–80. Also pp. 173-78. See also Tarikh-i-Rashidi, Part I.

a diwan (collection of odes) in the purest and most lucid Turkish. He invented a style of verse called Mubaiyan and was the author of a most useful treatise on jurisprudence which has been adopted generally. He also wrote a tract on Turki prosody, superior in elegance to any other, and put into verse the Risalah-i-Walidieh of His Highness. He was also skilled in music and other arts.' He invented the Babari mode of hand-writing, transcribed the *Quran,* and presented a copy to the Sheriff of Mecca. The contemporary records bear ample testimony to his princely patronage of learning.[48] In spite of his incessant military and political activities, he bestowed the most careful attention on the education of his sons. The eldest, Humayun, grew up a fine

Humayun.

physicist, mathematician, astronomer, and geographer. He excelled in versification and displayed exquisite literary taste. The court historian of his son credits him with the combination of the energy of Alexander and the learning of Aristotle. He found the highest delight in the saintly and scholarly society which, he held, secures 'eternal prosperity.' His library and his librarian formed his inseparable companions on his military expeditions, even on his pathetic flight to Persia. During his reign, as Abul Fazl expresses it, 'the light of favour shone upon men of ability and worth.'[49]

Akbar.

It was no fault of Humayun that Akbar never learned to read and write.

'Sit not idle, 'tis not the time for play;
'Tis time for arts and for work'

[48] Tarikh-i-Rashidi (Elias and Ross), pp. 173-4.
Erskine's History of India, I. 521.
Members of Babur, in particular p. 291, in Erskine's translation.
Badauni I. (Ranking), 449—51.
A collection of poems by the Emperor Babur, ed. by Denison Rose. J. A. S. B. Extra No. 1910, pp. i-vi, 1—43.
Von Noer, the Emperor Akbar I., Ch. V, pp. 124—41.

[49] A. N. (Beveridge) I. 287. 309.
Gulbadan Begam, Humayun Nama (tr. Annette S. Beveridge), pp. 124—5.
Khonda Mir, Humayun Nama (E. and D. V.), 120—22.
Nizamuddin (E. and D. V.). 240.
Badauni I. (Ranking), 602.
Ferishta (Briggs), II. 70-71.
Blochmann. 538.
Von Noer, Akbar I. p. 136.

such was the serious admonition addressed by the father to the truant son. It fell flat, but no sooner did Akbar emerge from 'behind the veil' than he fell in completely with the family tradition. Through the ear he absorbed a wonderful amount of sacred and profane lore. Even his bitterest enemies were forced to admire his unquenchable thirst for knowledge, his insatiable passion for inquiry and investigation, his ceaseless search for truth, his exquisite delight in learned discussion, his unstinted patronage of merit. It is not too much to regard him as one of the first and greatest students of comparative religion. There is nothing in history like the Ibadat Khana—the great debating hall at Fathpur Sikri—with professors of orthodox and heterodox Islam and Hinduism, Christianity and Judaism, Jainism and Zoroastrianism, presided over by the Emperor, keenly discussing theology and morality through long hours of the night. Nature had dowered Akbar with intellectual gifts of the highest order and a memory singularly retentive and accurate. Diligent, incessant exercise sharpened the natural powers which ranged over the whole field of human knowledge. His mechanical inventions alone would make him a remarkable figure. His interest in historical truth alone would entitle him to an honourable place in historiography. He inspired Gulbadan Begam's charming Humayun Nama, Jauhar and Bayazid's Memoirs, Nizamuddin Ahmad's Tabaqat Akbari, and the Tarikh-i Alfi. He was responsible for the Persian version of Babur's memoirs and Kalhana's Rajatarangini. The Ain-i-Akbari, a veritable *Imperial Gazetter*, was an absolutely unique administrative and statistical record till the nineteenth century. The Lilavati, the famous Sanskrit work on mathematics, was translated into Persian. Nor were the claims of the polite literature neglected. The *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata*, the *Harivansh Purana*, the *Panchatantra*, *The Story of Raja Nala* appeared in a Persian garb. Religious literature received its fair share of attention. The Atharva Veda was rendered into Persian. Xavier, nephew of the great St. Francis, was prevailed upon to compose a life of Christ in Persian. Many other works were translated from Sanskrit, Hindi, Arabic and Greek into Persian.

It is hardly needful to remark that hundreds of poets and scholars, scientists and artists, basked in the sunshine of royal favour at Fathpur Sikri and Agra. The one certain detail of the lives of many a contemporary Hindi poet is that his merit received a reward from the Emperor. Akbar's munificence to literary talent has passed into a proverb and given rise to many a legend.[50]

This is not the place to paint the character of Akbar in all its versatility and complexity, but it is necessary to emphasize that it was a genius of rare intellectual vigour, a Socratic temper, that guided the formation of Prince Salim's mind, and that it was in surroundings of rare literary splendour that that mind was moulded. It is on record that Akbar kept his children under his immediate care and imparted to their infant brains such direction and guidance as they were capable of receiving.[51] Akbar's idea of education, as explained in the Ain, may fairly be supposed to have developed while his children were still under instruction. 'Every boy,' writes Abul Fazl, 'ought to read books on morals, arithmetic, the notation peculiar to arithmetic, agriculture, mensuration, geometry, astronomy, physiognomy, household matters, the rules of Government, medicine, logic, the tabii, riyazi and ilahi sciences, and history; all of which may be gradually acquired. . . . . No one should be allowed to neglect the things which the present time requires.'[52] The scheme is unsystematic, but certainly liberal and comprehensive.

50 Only a few of the references can be given—
Ain (Blochmann), pp. 104, 105, 106, 115, 116, 127, 275, 278, 279, 657 etc.
Badauni (Lowe) II. 346-7.
Jahangir (R. and B.) I. 33.
Monserrate's Commentarius, pp. 643-4. also translated by Father Hosten in J. A. S. B., 1912, p. 194. Hoyland and Banerjee, 50-1, 56-7, 126-34, 136—8, 201-2.
Father Jerome Xavier by H. Beveridge, J. A. S. B., 1888, p. 37.
Beveridge in J. A. S. B. New Series XIV, 1918, No. 5, p. 273, also No. 9., Du Jarric, Ch. XI, p. 93, Ch. XIV, p. 121.
Also M. U. Misra Bandhu Binoba and Shiva Singh Saroja Maclagan, in J. A. S. B. 1896.

51 A. N. (Beveridge) III. 105.
Monserrate's Commentarius, p. 644.

52 Ain (Blochmann), 278-9. The tabii comprise physical sciences; the riyazi, mathematics, astronomy, music and mechanics; and the ilahi, theology.

In the selection of tutors, the Emperor displayed his wonted judgment. Maulana Mir Kalan Harvi, grandson of Mullah Khwajah of Khorasan and disciple of Mirah Shah bin Mir Jalauddin, the greatest of traditionalists, had early risen to fame as a profound scholar and theologian. He seems to have been deeply influenced by the precept and example of his mother, a lady of singularly serene piety and devotion. She was about a hundred years old when her only son breathed his last. She received the news when she was reading the *Quran*. Not a sigh escaped from her, not a word of lamentation broke from her. She recited a verse, 'We are God's and to Him we return,' and continued her reading. For her sake, her son cheerfully renounced all thought of marriage, lest perchance his wife should prove refractory to his mother. With her, he migrated from Herat to India. His renown as a master of sacred tradition spread over the country and brought him the patronage of Akbar. His learning went hand in hand with an angelic disposition and charming manners. He was seventy-eight when he was appointed tutor to Salim. As the custom was, he raised his ward on his shoulders amidst a shower of acclamations and precious jewels. He made a handsome present to the Emperor and received a richer one in return. Reciting the name of God and the creed, the prince learnt the alphabet. But next year he had the misfortune to lose the old preceptor for ever.[53]

Maulana Mir Kalan Harvi.

Shaikh Ahmad, the prince's foster-father, a buoyant, cheerful man, a gallant captain and a profound scholar, was appointed ataliq or guardian and guided Salim's education until his death in 1577.[54] Among the subsequent 'guardians' of Salim may be mentioned Qutbuddin

Shaikh Ahmad.

53 A. N. (Beveridge) III. 107.
Badauni II. (Lowe), 173, and III. (Haig), 211-2.
Nizamuddin (E. and D. V.), 370. Blochmann, 540
Gladwin, Reign of Jahangir, p. iii.
54 A. N. (Beveridge), III, 299.
M. U. (Beveridge), I. 170.

Muhammad Khan Atga, a high nobleman who received the lofty title of Beglarbegi;[55] but the man who, next to Akbar, seems to have cast the most profound influence on the prince's mind was Abdur Rahim Khan.

Qutbuddin Muhammad Khan.

Born on December 17, 1556, at Lahore, he was only four years of age when his father, the great Bairam Khan Khankhana, was assassinated at Pattan in Gujerat. Narrowly did his mother and her attendants, Muhammad Amin Diwana and Baba Zambur, escape alive with the child. Hotly pursued by the Afghans, they fled to Ahmadabad and thence to Agra. In obedience to an imperial summons, the boy was presented at court in 1562, taken under royal protection and given a varied and splendid education, which, acting on his native intellectual vigour, made him one of the first minds of the age. A master of Persian, Arabic, Turkish, Sanskrit and Hindi, he was reputed to be the greatest linguist in India. Later writers gravely asserted that he could converse freely in most of the languages of the world. A vigorous prose-writer and a facile versifier, he perpetuated his name in contemporary literature. His Persian translation of Babur's memoirs was a remarkable service to the cause of historical scholarship. His Persian verses flow with natural ease and sparkle with wit and humour. His Hindi stanzas have always been prized for their elegance of diction, weight of thought, and elevation of sentiment, and will be read so long as the language endures. As a patron of literature, he stands at the head of the Mughal nobles. The Maasir-i-Rahimi has preserved the biographies and specimens of the composition of some thirty Persian versifiers who found shelter with him.

Abdur Rahim Khan.

But Abdur Rahim was, above all, a man of action. He suppressed a formidable revolt in Gujerat, and his military genius shone forth in all its brilliance on the Deccan border, where the reputation of many a Mughal captain found its grave His diplomatic skill was marvellous, bewildering, and incompre-

55 A. N. (Beveridge), III. 401.
Nizamuddin (E. and D. V.), 413.
Badauni (Lowe), II. 278.

hensible to many, and more than once brought on him the gravest suspicions of treachery.

Such was the man who was appointed guardian to Salim in 1582 just as the prince entered the most impressionable period of life.[56] The royal ward read a great deal of Persian literature and acquired a fair command over Persian expression. He learnt Turkish which served him later as the medium of conversation with John Hawkins and as the means of confidential consultation with one of his servants, when held in custody by Mahabat Khan. He picked up a fair acquaintance with Hindi and delighted in Hindi songs. He developed a somewhat poetic disposition, paraded his skill in versification, and sowed his talk with poetic quotations. He loved stories and acquired the knack of graphic narration. He wrote a fine Persian hand, of which specimens have come down to us.

Salim's education.

Nor were the severer studies neglected. His diary, written in later life, shows him fairly conversant with history and geography. He is fond of biographical detail. His interest in botany and zoology would have done credit to any professional scientist. No reader of his diary can fail to be struck by his passion for investigation, his accuracy of observation, his love of experiment, and his quest of miscellaneous knowledge. His literary and scientific tastes naturally produced a liking for cultured society which lasted to the close of his life.

Brought up at a court which extended a splendid patronage to art, in a city which was in itself a marvel of art, Salim developed and trained his æsthetic faculties to a remarkable degree. In later life, he could distinguish at sight the hands of different painters on the same or different canvases or in the same portrait. Under his encouragement Indian painting reached its high water mark.

Aesthetic culture.

[56] A. N. (Beveridge), III. 583.
Iqbalnama, 287-8.
M. U. (Beveridge), I. 50—65.
Blochmann, 334—9.
Beal, Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p. 11.
The Hawkins' Voyages, p. 399.

His delight in beautiful stones and artistic swords or hilts, was exquisite. Equally remarkable is his intense passion for the beauties of nature. He describes the flowers and springs of Kashmir with poetic fervour. He would gaze, rapt with wonder and admiration, at beautiful rose or tulip, hill or rivulet.[57]

[57] 'As I have poetical disposition, I sometimes intentionally, sometime unvoluntarily, compose couplets and quatrains,' Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 228. He occasionally versified his prayers to God. *Ibid.*, 322. He talked eagerly on poetry (*Ibid.*, II. 29) and arranged parties where every guest had to compose an ode (*Ibid.*, II. 15). For quotations from noted writers see Ibid., I. 100, 133, 141, 169, 188, Vol. II, 95, 96 104 105 115 118. Jahangir did not study 'Omar Khayyam' but heartily appreceiated a quatrain of his, which he saw engraved on a stone pillar at Mandu (R. and B II, 62). For further illustrations of his poetic disposition, see *Ibid.*, I. pp. 18, 51, 53, 57, 61, 65, 99, 150, 158, 159 203 Vol. II. pp. 36, 37, 144, 176, 183. For Jahangir's linguistic attainments see his Memoirs (R. and B.) I. 109, 141. Iqbalnama 257 (E and D.) VI. 422. The Hawkins' Voyages, p. 400.

'Shanqi, the maudlin prayer, is the wonder of the age. He also sings Hindi and Persian songs in a manner that clears the rust from all hearts. I delighted him with the title of Anand Khan: in the Hindi language means "pleasure and ease." ' Jahangir (R. and B.) I. 422. Another Hindi poet, Buta (Brikhray), was a favourite with Jahangir. Misrabandhu Binoda, Vol. I, p. 422.

Jahangir's autographs may be seen in a copy of the Diwan-i-Hafiz preserved in the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Bankipore. Also the reproductions given by Blochmann in the course of his interesting article, 'Facsimiles of several autographs of Jahangir, Shah Jahan, Prince Dara Shikoh, etc.' (J. A. S. B., 1870, pp. 170—9.) The writing below the portrait which faces p. 114 in Foster's edition of the 'Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe' represents Jahangir's hand. See also J. A. R. S., 1909, pp. 69—73.

For Jahangir's interest in history and in stories, see his memoir's in general and Vol. I. pp. 24—51, 377, 414—18, 424—32. Vol. II. 50—2, 63, 64, in particular.

'On Friday eves, I associate with learned and pious men and with dervishes and recluses,' Jahangir (R. and B.) I. 21. For Jahangir's interest in botany, Ibid., I. pp. 83, 84, 140, 141, 142, 143, 155, 248, 272, 322, 343, 387, 410, 436, 437, 444, 445. Vol. II. 7, 16, 17, 18, 19, 23, 24, 25, 32, 39, 42, 43, 46, 88, 89, 130, 201, 219, 220, 221, 226.

For his interest in zoology, *Ibid.*, I, 83, 97, 98, 353, 360, 361, 362, 383, 387, 412, 413. Vol. II. p. 134. For description of Kashmir, *Ibid.*, II. pp. 131—198. For other illustrations of his passionate delight in natural beauty, *Ibid.*, I. pp. 7, 8, 269, 361, 383, 384, 386, 388, 412, 413. Vol. II, 57, 58.

For Jahangir's artictic interests and accomplishments, see *Ibid.*, I. 200, 201, 319, 322, 379, 400. Vol. II. 20-21, 96, 99, 116-17. 'Embassy of Sir T. Roe, 210—11, 244—6. Terry, p. 135.

While education and training improved Prince Salim's mind and formed his tastes, exercise imparted proportion and strength to his body. Akbar, who was gifted with an iron constitution, who ranked as the greatest shot and fighter of his day, was in the very prime of health and vigour about the time of Salim's birth. Maryam-uz-Zamani, of Rajput descent may be presumed to have possessed a strong, sinewy frame. From them Salim inherited a robust constitution, a handsome face, well-proportioned limbs. During his boyhood he enjoyed uniformly good health and seldom fell ill. Martial exercises always formed an essential part of the training of a mediæval prince. Salim learnt fencing from Murtaza Khan of the Deccan, whom he later styled Warzish Khan (Exercise Lord). He became a fine shot. Early he evinced keen delight in open-air exercises; he ran and jumped over streams in glee.[58] But his greatest diversion, his highest pleasure, was furnished by sport, for which he had inherited a passion from his father. When barely fifteen years of age, he would go out on long hunting expeditions. Never did he quail before danger, never did he shirk from peril. Until his health was completely shattered, he was the most indefatigable of hunters.[59]

Physical exercise.

It was a wise practice among the Mughals to bring royal princes into early and intimate contact with public affairs. In the important Kabul campaign of 1581, Princes Salim and Murad were placed in nominal charge of large detachments of troops. Those who observed their behaviour spoke highly of their spirit and

Contact with public affairs.

58 Jahangir (R. and B.) I. 105-6, 253, 307.
For a short illness in 1577, A. N. (Beveridge), III. 288.

59 Jahangir (R. and B.) I. 83, 84, 121, 122, 125, 129, 130, 163, 164, 166. 167, 182, 185, 187, 188, 189, 190, 192, 203, 204, 234, 248, 251, 255, 257, 276, 286, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 352, 363, 368, 369, 370, 374, 375, 382, 401, 40 404, 4 0 5 ,406, 408, 440, Vol. II.40, 83, 109, 197, 236.

See also Iqbalnama, Maasir-Jahangiri and Khafi Khan. For Salim's courageous encounter with lioness see Maclagan, J. A. S. B., 1896, I. p. 73.

See also the 'Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe,' p. 402; Terry, p. 376 (Purchas IX. 161), Jourdain, p. 161.

gallantry.[60] Next year Salim was sent to welcome home the royal ladies on their return from Mecca.[61] About the same time he was placed in nominal charge of the departments of justice and public celebrations.[62] What was more important, the prince lived in constant communication with Akbar, one of the first minds of the age.[63]

Weakness of character.

Nothing, however, could compensate for the disadvantages of being born in the purple. The genius of Babur and Akbar was formed in the school of practical experience and adversity. Salim was past thirty before he had any difficulties or misfortunes—even of his own making—to overcome. The child of so many prayers, vows and pilgrimages, the eldest son of the richest and most glorious sovereign of the age, the universal darling in the picturesque palace-city of Fathpur-Sikri, he found a path strewn with roses. He was denied the splendid opportunities which form the silver lining of the dense clouds of want and struggle—opportunities of acquiring insight into human nature; tact and resourcefulness; energy and audacity; in a word, that grit which forms the essence of character. All his life he suffered from

60 A. N. (Beveridge), III. 529, 530, 531, Nizamuddin (E. and D. V.), 423–5, Monserrate's Commentarius, 578, 603, 611, 612, 613, 615.

61 A. N. (Beveridge), III. 569. Nizamuddin (E. and D. V.), 427.

62 A. N. (Beveridge), III. 598.

63 From this account of Salim's education, which indeed only followed the usual Mughal style, it will appear how ill-founded are the following observation of W. Crooke (the North-Western Provinces of India, pp. 102-3):—

'His (Akbar's) immediate descendants, when they were educated at all, were trained in the old Mussalman style—the recitation of the *Koran*, quibbles of theology, the dull verbiage of legal subtleties were their mental food. In early boyhood they lived amidst the vain gossip and squalid intrigues of vicious women who filled the harem. As they grew up, the jealousy of rival queens forbade their taking a leading part in the politics of the capital. The herd of knavish flatterers and adventurers, the palace gang, were averse to their acquiring a competent knowledge of administration. A prince who took his proper part in the council of the State was suspected of intriguing against the monarch; so he was often packed off to a distant province where the same influences opposed his training. The local viceroy acted as his leader and took care to hoodwink him and prevent him from meddling in the conduct of affairs. He was better pleased to see him waste his time in dissipation than to educate him in statecraft.'

Such facile writing, compounded of ignorance and prejudice, is responsible for much of the prevalent misconception of Mughal history.

weakness of will and resolution, from a lamentable propensity to surrender himself to the mercies of superior talent or craft.

Salim contracts the habit of hard drinking.

These defects of character were aggravated by a habit which he contracted on the very threshold of youth and which brought him to an early grave. Intemperance was the besetting sin of the Mughal house. Babur has described, in vivid and graphic detail, the convivial parties which drowned all sorrow and anxiety. Humayun impaired his vigour by wine and opium. His son, Muhammad Hakim, succumbed to alcohal and died at the early age of thirty-one. Akbar, on the whole, formed an exception to the rule, but in his earlier years it was nothing unusual for him to drink, occasionally even to excess.[64] His younger sons, Murad and Daniyal, were destined to a miserable death from alcohol. Salim has related with his usual candour how narrowly he escaped a similar fate in the very prime of youth. Till his seventeenth year he never tasted wine except as an ingredient in an infantile medicine. In 1585 he was induced by a royal servant to take a cup to drive away the fatigues of a hunting expedition. 'After that I took to drinking wine and increased it from day to day. Wine made from grapes ceased to intoxicate me, and I took to drinking araq (spirits).' Matters went from bad to worse till, by 1594, 'my potions rose to twenty cups of doubly distilled spirits, fourteen during the daytime and the remainder at night. The weight of this was six Hindustani *sirs* or one and a half maunds of Iran. The extent of my eating in those days was a fowl with bread and vegetable.' The ruinous effect on his constitution was visible to all, but all advice fell flat on him. 'In that state of matters,' as he says, 'no one had the power to forbid me,' till death stared him in the face. So pitiful was his

64 Once he insisted on fighting with his spear after the reported Rajput fashion, and nearly throttled Man Singh who struck down the weapon. A. N. (Beveridge), III. 43-4. Jahangir refers to his father as being occasionally 'in his cups.' Memoirs. (R. and B.) I. p. 2. Also p. 307. See also Monserrate's Commentarius, 558, 642. V. A. Smith (Akbar, p. 41) quotes Bartoli (pp. 59, 64) to the same effect.

For Mirza Mohammad Hakim's fate, A. N. (Beveridge), III. 703, Badauni (Lowe), II. p. 357.

condition that in 'the crapulous state from the trembling of my hand I could not drink from my own cup, but others had to give it me to drink.' Hakim Humam, the royal physician, whom he consulted, warned him in the plainest terms that persistence in the evil course would bring him in six months hopelessly to the brink of the grave. As 'sweet life was dear to me', the prince checked himself, diminished his portions, and diluted the araq with double the quantity of grape wine. Gradually, he lowered the allowance still further calling in filunia (opium) to supply the deficiency. By 1601 he could restrict himself to a daily allowance of six cups, of $18\frac{1}{4}$ misqals each.[65] For the rest of his life, he regaled himself at this rate. Natural vigour and assiduous sport warded off the resulting ruin till the approach of old age, but the last five years of his life were a period of physical breakdown and intense misery.

65 Jahangir (R. and B.) I. 307-8-9. Sayyad Ahmad's text of the Tuzuk Jahangiri gives fifteen years as the age after which Salim took to drinking. But Beveridge points out that two India Office MSS, and R.A.S. MS. give eighteen (lunar) years, which is doubtless correct, as the incident occurred early in 1586.

It is to be observed that Jahangir's partial reform cannot be ascribed, as it has too often been ascribed, to Nur Jahan, whom Jahangir married so late as 1611.

CHAPTER II

YOUTH

Prince Salim's marriage with Princess Man Bai of Amber.

NOTHING in Indian history is more fascinating than the evolution of the Indo-Saracenic culture, manners, and customs under which we still live. As soon as the Muhammadan immigrants had fairly settled down, they powerfully influenced, and were more powerfully influenced by, their Hindu neighbours. Early marriage, which owes its origin partly to the Indian climate and partly to general social conditions, was retained by Hindu converts and adopted by large sections of Muslim settlers. The Imperial family did not, indeed, after the new policy of Rajput alliance, could not, escape the contagion. Salim was barely fifteen when he was betrothed to his cousin, Man Bai, daughter of Raja Bhagwan Das of Amber. The marriage settlement was fixed at two crores of tankas. The Emperor himself, accompanied by all his nobles, went to the Raja's mansion and on February 13, 1585 celebrated the wedding in the presence of Muslim qazis, but with certain characteristic Hindu ceremonies. The dowry bestowed by Bhagwan Das included a hundred elephants, several strings of horses, jewels, numerous and diverse golden vessels set with precious stones, utensils of gold and silver, 'and all sorts of stuffs, the quantity of which is beyond all computation.' The Imperial nobles were presented with Persian, Turkish, and Arabian horses, with golden saddles, etc. Along with the bride were given a number of male and female slaves, of Indian, Abyssinian and Circassian origin. As the Imperial procession returned along highways covered with rare and choice cloth, the Emperor scattered over bridal litter gold and jewels

in careless profusion. Festivities and rejoicings knew no bounds. Odes and choronograms flew by the hundreds.[1]

Political marriages have often served the high interests of State at the cost of individual happiness. In the present case, however, the charms, intelligence, and engaging manners of Man Bai won the ardent affection of Prince Salim. In spite of an hereditary tendency to melancholy which acute affliction could easily bring to the verge of insanity, she warmed and cheered the life of her husband. Her suicide in 1604 plunged Salim into the deepest grief. Not a morsel of food, not a draught of drink passed his lips for full four days. For a while life ceased to offer any attraction to his afflicted soul. Words failed him when he attempted two years later to describe her 'Perfect intelligence,' 'her excellences and goodness,' and her all-consuming devotion to him.[2]

Birth of Sultan-unnisa Begam, April 26, 1586.

The first fruit of the union was a daughter, Sultan-unnisa Begam, who saw the light on April 26, 1586. She lived for sixty years, but played no part in history.[3] Far different was the lot of the second child, born at Lahore on August 6, 1587, who was named

1 A. N. (Beveridge), III. 677-78. Badauni (Lowe), II. 352. Nizam-uddin (E. and D. V.), 447. Muhammad Hadi, p. 6. M. U. (Beveridge), I. 404.

Tod, Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan (Routledge), Vol. II, p. 286. Gladwin, p. iii.

Salim's exact age at the time of the marriage was 15 years, 5 months, and 13 days.

Abul Fazl (Text III. p. 451) gives the Ilahi date 5 Isfandarmuz.

Faizi composed the following ode, each line of which yields the date of the marriage:—

'Hail to the pearl scattering marriage of Sultan Salim
Which gives glory to the year of hope.
By the fostering care of the sun of Acquarius
There has come a conjuction of the moon and venus.'

2 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 55-6.

3 A. N. (Text) III. p. 493 gives the Ilahi date (16th Urdibihisht 994) of her birth. Muhammad Hadi (p. 7) calls her Sultan Nis-ar-Begum, while Khafi Khan (I. p. 245) designates her as Sultan Begam. Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 15 only says that she was his eldest child. Price (p. 20) says that she was a year older than her brother Khusrau. She died at Agra in 1646 and was buried at Sikandara, though she had constructed a tomb for herself in the Khusrau Bagh at Allahabad. (Beale's Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p. 392), Padshahnama II. 603-4.

Khusrau and who was destined to a stormy career and a bloody grave. On his birth, Man Bai was styled Shah Begam.[4]

Birth of Prince Khusrau, August 6, 1587.

Meanwhile, Salim had created a veritable harem. In 1586 he married Jodh Bai or Jagat Gosain, daughter of Udai Singh, the Mota Raja, the daughter of Rai Rai Singh of Bikanir,[6] and the daughter of Said Khan Ghakhar.[7] During the next ten years he married sixteen other wives of various nationalities and religions.[8] After his accession to the throne he married a few other ladies,—

Salim's other marriages.

[4] Nizamuddin (E. and D. V. 456) places Khusrau's birth in the year 1588 A.D. (996 A.H.) and Khafi Khan (I. 245) in the year 1589 A.D. (997 A.H.), but Jahangir (R. and B.) I. 19 clearly states Khusrau was born two years and two months before Parvez—which means the year 1587. Abul Fazl, the standard chronologist of Akbar's reign, agrees with Jahangir.

[5] Muhammad Hadi, p. 6. Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 19. Gladwin, p. iii. Blochmann, p. 619.

[6] A. N. (Beveridge), III. 749. Badauni (Lowe), II. 364. Tod. II 145. No one mentions her name. Abul Fazl (Text III. 496) gives as the date of the marriage 16th Tir=June 26, 1586.

[7] A. N. (Beveridge), III. 494. Badauni (Lowe), II. 368.

[8] Xavier (Maclagan, p. 75) states that in 1597 Prince Salim had twenty lawful wives. Four have just been mentioned. The names, parentage, or nationality of five have not been preserved. The other eleven were as follows:—

(1) Sahib-i-Jamal (Mistress of Beauty), daughter of Khwajah Hasan, cousin of Zain Khan Koka. Zain Khan Koka was the son of Pichah Jan Angah, one of the nurses of Akbar.

(2) Malik-i-Jahan (Queen of the World), daughter of Kalyan of Jaisalmere. Her Rajput name is unknown.

(3) Nurunnisa Begam, sister of Muzaffar Hussain.

(3) Salihah Banu, daughter of Qasim Khan.

(5) Karamsi, daughter of Raja Keshu Das Rathor.

(6) The daughter of Ali Rai, ruler of Little Tibet, brought by the Mughal ambassador, Haji Mirza Beg Kabuli.

(7) The daughter of Mubarak Chak of Kashmir.

(8) The daughter of Husain Chak of Kashmir.

(9) The daughter of the king of Khandesh (died in 1597).

(10) The daughter of Khwajah Jahan-i-Kabul.

(11) The daughter of Mirza Sarjar, son of Khizr Khan Hazara.

For these see Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 18, 19, 326.
A. N. (Text), III. 261, 569, 607, 639, 659.
Badauni (Lowe), II. 388.
Muhammad Hadi, p. 7.
Blochmann, 310, 371, 464, 477 (n), 619. Gladwin, p. iii.

Tod (II. 145) is wrong in regarding Rai Singh's daughter as the mother of Parvez.

daughter of Jagat Singh,[9] daughter of Ram Chandra Bundela,[10] and, last but not least, Mihrunnisa, better known as Nur Jahan.[11] Concubines raised the harem to the monstrous number of 300.[12]

Salim's other children—Parvez. Bihar Banu Begam.

A numerous progeny sprang from these unions, Prince Parvez was born of Sahib-i-Jamal on October 2, 1589.[13] Several children, who came next, died in infancy, but Bihar Banu Begam, born of Karamsi in September, 1590, lived to a good old age.[14]

Khurram.

Jahandar and Shahryar.

On January 5, 1592, at Lahore, Jagat Gosain gave birth to a son whose advent diffused joy through the court, who was named Khurram (Joyous),[15] and who was destined to a long, chequered, and memorable career. All the children who saw the light during the next twelve years died in infancy. In 1605 concubines brought forth two sons, Jahandar and Shahryar, destined to short and inglorious lives.[16]

9 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 144-5. Her name is not mentioned. The ceremony was performed at the house of Jahangir's mother, Maryamuz Zamani.

10 Jahangir (R. and B.) I. 160. She was married in 1609 at the request of her father whose revolt had shortly been supressed.

11 See Ch. VIII *seq*.

12 Hawkins writing of the year 1611 gives the number of Jahangir's wives as 300, of whom, he says, four were chief queens. (The Hawkins' Voyages, p. 421.)

There can be no doubt that the number includes concubines.

Terry, who resided at the Mughal court in the years 1618-19, says that the emperor's women numbered a thousand, 'of good features, though for their colour swarthy.' (Voyage to East India, pp. 405-6.) But it is hardly likely that after Nur Jahan's marriage in 1611 the harem would multiply so fast. Terry seems either to have relied on hearsay or to have included female attendants of the zenana in the number of 'women.'

It will be observed that of the eighteen ladies whose parentage is known to us seven were Hindus and eleven Muhammadans.

13 A. N. (Text), III. 568. Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 18-19. Muhammad Hadi, p. 7.

14 Jahangir (R. and B.), I, 19. Muhammad Hadi, p. 7.

15 A. N. (Text), III. p. 603.

Muhammad Hadi, p. 7.

Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 19 wrongly gives 999 A. H. instead of 1000 A. H. as the year of Khurram's birth. Abdul Hamid Lahori, the author of Padshahnama, agrees with Abul Fazl.

16 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 20.

The uncertainties of the Muslim law of succession.

The approach of manhood found Salim a polygamous husband and father of several children. The first effervescence of boyish passions had not yet subsided, but he had already begun to take life seriously, to think of his political interests, to mark every change in the political weather, and to guard himself against every danger that threatened his chances to the throne. The Muslim law substitutes the principle of election for that of heredity in the succession to the headship of the faithful but, in practice, often leaves the devolution of political authority to the testament of the last ruler. The source of this law is to be found in early Arabian custom which, of course, perfectly answered the needs of the democratic tribal organization. But the importation of the principle outside Arabia has been attended with disastrous results. True, it has sometimes secured the survival of the fittest, but more often it has led to domestic bitterness, ceaseless intrigue, civil war, and ruthless massacre. Its uncertainty has encouraged every prince to aspire to the crown, to ingratiate himself with his father, to form cliques, to undermine the influence of his brothers, if not to attempt their lives, to stoop to the lowest depths of baseness and cruelty. The Indian Mughals sought to remedy these distempers by an early and clear nomination of one of their sons to the succession. The heir was invested with the sarkar of Hissar-Firoz which, in a way, resembled the principate of Wales. He was closely associated with the Emperor and generally resided at court. He received the highest rank in the peerage. The high officers and nobles, the protected princes, and the people at large, were accustomed to look up to him as their future sovereign. Nothing, however, was effectual in extinguishing the hopes of his kinsmen. They sought to unsettle the settled fact; they intrigued, they warred. The bad blood, generated by the controversy, at last left a prince no alternative between the purple and a bloody grave. The atmosphere of suspicion and treachery, treason and conspiracy, often gave rise to serious misunderstanding between the Emperor and the heir-designate. Self-interest, party zeal, and even genuine public spirit were not wanting to widen the breach.

Frightful scenes of discord and bloodshed recurred in every Mughal reign with the regularity of a natural phenomenon.

Dissension in the Indian Mughal family.

Babur clearly designated Humayun to succeed him. Intrigue, however, threatened to compromise his chances and in turn whetted his eagerness. A rash step on his part nearly led his father to disgrace him. Feminine influence averted the blow, but on his accession to the throne, Humayun found his worst enemies in his brothers. Humayun's sons were too young to quarrel during his lifetime, but Mirza Muhammad Hakim, entrenched in Afghanistan, never willingly acknowledged even the suzerainty of Akbar. He sheltered the rebels against his brother, fomented internal revolt in India, and one actually invaded the Punjab. It was only after his death that Akbar could really rule in Kabul. Filial ingratitude clouded the last days of Akbar and hastened his end. Jahangir, in his turn, found the dawn of his reign darkened by the revolt of his eldest son. He marked out Khurram for the throne, but the cliques which backed up his other sons kept the court in ceaseless commotion. A long series of intrigues led at length to Khurram's formidable revolt. The death of Parvez prevented a second serious civil war, but Shah Jahan signalized his accession by a wholesale massacre of his kinsmen. Vengeance overtook him when his third son Aurangzeb, after a bloody protracted civil war, executed the heir-designate, Dara, and his youngest brother, Murad, drove Shuja to perish in the eastern hills and imprisoned his father. Not the least formidable of the many difficulties of Aurangzeb's reign was the recalcitrant conduct of his sons, provoked by suspicion, prompted by ambition. He was hardly laid in his grave when his empire was devastated by a triangular civil war. The later history of the Mughal dynasty reminds one of the message which Geoffrey sent to his father, Henry II, the head of the Angevin house, in the latter half of the twelfth century. 'Dost thou not know,' asked the impetuous outspoken youth on the outbreak of a domestic conflict, that it is our proper nature, planted in us by inheritance from our ancestors, that none of us should love the other, but that ever brother should strive with brother and

son against father? I would not that thou shouldst deprive us of our hereditary right nor vainly seek to rob us of our nature.' It is interesting to note that the evil which Geoffrey painted in such vivid colours sprang partly from the same uncertainties of the succession.

Akbar's tact and diplomacy, no less than his warm affections and self-mastery, minimized the traditional evil, but its extinction was beyond his power. He gave the empire clearly to understand that he intended Salim to succeed him. In 1577 Salim had been elevated to the rank of 10,000, while Murad and Daniyal were only given positions of 7,000 and 6,000 respectively.[17] In 1585, the three princes received separate wardrobes, insignia, flags and rums, but while the eldest was promoted to 12,000, the younger ones had to content themselves with commands of 9,000 and 7,000.[18]

Akbar's relations with Salim.

During the next thirteen years, which the Imperial court spent in the north-west, Salim lived in close association with Akbar. But the prevailing mist of political intrigue and chicane gradually clouded their relations, estranged their, hearts, and ultimately involved them in a bitter wrangle. As early as 1591, Salim displayed indecent eagerness to grasp the supreme power and roused his father's serious suspicions.

There was another reason why Akbar should be displeased with his eldest son. Neither his education nor the dignity of his position kept the heir-apparent from youthful follies, which moved the indignation of the pure and noble Abul Fazl and gave deep offence to Akbar.[19] The Emperor must have keenly felt the disgrace which the prince was bringing on himself and on his family. There need be no doubt that Akbar looked with wrath and reproach at the astounding excesses to which the

17 A. N. (Beveridge), III. 308.

18 Badauni (Lowe), II. 353-4. The tumantagh, bestowed on the princes, was a flag of the highest dignity and reserved for the highest nobles or princes of the blood. See Ain-i-Akbari (Blochmann, p. 50).

19 Takmil Akbarnama (E. and D.) VI. 107.
Chalmers, II, 540, quoted in Von Noer, Akbar II. 385.

prince carried his drunkenness. The resentment which Salim's manner of life produced in the Emperor's heart was skilfully inflamed by Abul Fazl, whose power had excited the prince's jealousy and animosity.

Abul Fazl.

Born on January 14, 1551, the son of the celebrated Mubarak was one of the infant prodigies that 'mature into brilliant manhood.' At fifteen, Abul Fazl was reckoned a master of philosophy and traditional lore. His boyish intelligence and learning could restore with startling faithfulness a difficult author whose manuscript work had lost one-half of every page. His powers of expression, his brilliance of style, his beauties of diction have been the wonder and envy of ten generations of scholars and writers of Persian. Not less remarkable was his genius for historical work. His Ain-i-Akbari forms a digest of masses of geographical, economic, administrative, and cultural facts, arranged and presented with a fullness of detail, and a clearness of manner which were equalled and surpassed only in the nineteenth century. His Akbarnama, in spite of its servile tone, its florid pomposity, its artificial ingenuities, will always rank as a monument of diligence and research and a measure of the compass of human eloquence. His letters will be read and admired as long as the Persian idiom endures. From his father he had inherited passion for truth, freedom of thinking, liberality of religious sentiment. He was engulfed in the current of heterodoxy which swept over Europe and Asia alike in the sixteenth century. His enemies, incapable of rising to his intellectual and spiritual heights, called him a Hindu, a Parsi, a sceptic, an atheist. In fact, he was a sincere believer in God, but his spirit refused to be bound by the trammels of any dogma. Insight, born of sympathy, revealed to his mind some good in every creed. The Christian missionaries who came into contact with him bear eloquent testimony to his large-hearted toleration. 'Peace with all' was the badge of his school, but his religion was entirely personal.

His fame had early attracted the notice of the Emperor Akbar. At the age of twenty-three he had been summoned to the court and received with honour. In 1585 he rose to the rank

of 1,000; in 1592 to that of 2,000 and shortly after, to that of 4,000. But his position, high as it was, furnished no index of the influence he exercised over the empire. In him Akbar found a congenial soul. A deep intellectual and spiritual sympathy ripened into a warm friendship. The Jesuit Fathers hit the mark when they called Abul Fazl the Emperor's Jonathan. Practically, he was the Chancellor of the Empire. His hand is clearly discernible in the numerous decrees which issued from the imperial offices. If the secret consultations of the council chamber could be revealed to us, his fame as a statesman would probably stand higher than his well-deserved literary reputation. His two bitterest foes, Badauni and Jahangir, bear unwilling testimony to his civil and political wisdom.[20]

At the time of which we are speaking, the influence of Abul Fazl was at its zenith. Salim fancied himself excluded from his proper share of authority. Powerless to shake the ascendancy which Abul Fazl's genius had gained over his father's counsels, he conceived an energetic hatred towards the minister. As was only to be expected, the prince slandered and schemed against the object of his dislike. Abul Fazl retaliated by bringing the irregularities of Salim's life to the notice of his father and, doubtless, by otherwise damaging his position. The bitter feud sorely vexed the spirit of Akbar. He reprimanded his son. For a while, he disgraced Abul Fazl.[21] If he made any attempts at con-

20 The facts of Abul Fazl's life are scattered in the contemporary chronicles. Abul Fazl's own account is valuable. See Jarrett III. pp. 417–451. Also Monserrate (Hoyland and Banerjee) 53–56. The fullest later biographical notices are those by Shah Nawaz Khan (M. U. Beveridge, I. pp. 117–28) and Blochmann's preface to the Ain-i-Akbari. pp. i–xxvi. Darbari-i-Akbari. The judgement of posterity on Abul Fazl's style is thus summed up by the author of Maasir-ul-Umara:—

'The Shaikh had an enchanting literary style. He was free from secretarial pomposity and epistolary tricks of style, and the force of his words, the collegation of his expressions, the application of simple words, the beautiful compounds and wonderful powers of the diction were such as would be hard for another to imitate. As he strove to make special use of Persian words, it has been said of him that he put into prose the quintet of Nizari.'

For an adverse criticism, see Jarrett's preface to the translation of Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. II.

21 Takmil Akbarnama (E. and D.); VI. 107. K. K. I. 223. Chalmers II. (quoted in Von Noer, Akbar II. 384.) Jahangir (R. and B.) I. 24.

ciliation, they were doomed to speedy disappointment. Blood alone could quench the fire that burnt in the prince's breast.

No religious differences between Akbar and Salim.

The widespread net of intrigue in which he was entangled, his personal misconduct, his liability to fall under evil influence, and his deadly feud with Akbar's warmest friend and most powerful minister are enough to explain the estrangement between the father and son. But, strange as it may appear, modern writers have nearly ignored these factors and sought to explain Salim's recalcitrant behaviour on a purely imaginary ground. Von Noer, or rather his editor, has seriously argued, what others have quietly assumed, that Salim championed the cause of Muslim orthodoxy against the heretical Emperor and minister.[22]

The contemporary religious fermentation.

It is true that religious debates, intercourse with professors of all creed, the influence of Mubarak and Abul Fazl, above all, the spirit of the times and intense meditation, had affected the inherited faith of Akbar. When the real history of mediæval India comes to be written, it will be seen that the fundamental fact about the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is the energetic spirit of protest against old creed and formula, resulting in the religion of direct communion with the Supreme Soul. Then it was that the currents of Islamic Sufism and the Hindu Bhakti combined into a mighty stream which fertilized old desolate tracts and changed the face of the country. Fifty years before the birth of Akbar one of the greatest of Indian saints, the poor Muslim weaver, Kabir, had riddled current Hinduism and Islam with argument and invective, ridicule and banter, had attracted a devoted band of disciples, and left behind him not only a numerous sect but powerful strains of religious thought and emotion.[23] Raidas, a Hindu cobbler; Sain, a barber; Dhanna, a

22 'Salim's nature and circumstances both impelled him towards the old Muhammadan orthodoxy in whose ranks adherents were most easily to gain amongst the discredited Ulemas........Abul Fazl's creed was in diametrical opposition to Salim's.' Von Noer, Akbar II. 383.

23 The Bijak of Kabir, Kabir Kasauti, Kabir ki Sakhi. Macauliffe, Sikh Religion, Vol. VI. Westcott, Kabir and the Kabir Panth. Beni Prasad, Kabir in To-morrow, 1924.

Jat; Pipa, a ruling prince, followed him in proclaiming the gospel of living personal faith in a living personal God.[24] Nanak organized the community of Sikhs (disciples) along the new lines of reform. The sixteenth century was likewise prolific in Muslim saints and reformers who discarded tradition and traditional ways of thinking and emphasized the supreme importance of Faith.[25]

Akbar's religious belief.

It was only a question of time when the spirit which moved all over the country should invade the Imperial court which, through its patronage of literature, kept in close touch with the latest phase of thought. The liberality of Akbar's temperament assured that spirit a warm welcome. It cast a spell over him and many of his friends. After a keen internal struggle, they ceased to be Muhamadans in the religious sense of the term.[26] Akbar freely studied all religions and freely elected to follow any tenet that appealed to his conscience. The influence of the three Christian missions which came at his summons from Goa tended in the same direction. The bigotry of a section of Muslim priests produced in Akbar a repugnance towards Islam. If Badauni and the Jesuit Fathers may be believed, he subjected Islam to a severe persecution. At any rate, his conduct was such as to produce a widespread belief that he pulled down the turrets of mosques converting them to stables or storerooms, destroyed *Qurans,* and scandalized good Muhammadans by boar-fights and enamelled boar-tusks.[27]

24 Rai Das ki Bani. Raidas ki parchi, Dhannaji ki parchi, Pipa ji ki parchi. Macauliffe. Sikh Religion.

25 Badauni, Muntakhabut Tawarikh. Vol. III. Najatur Rashid.

Blochmann, Life of Abul Fazl, Ain I. pp. i—xxvi. Dara Shikoh. Upanishads Khuda Baksh MSS. M.U. Biographies of Abdunnabi and Makhdumulmulk (Beveridge) I. 41—44, 93—97.

For Deccan saints, Ranade. Rise of the Maratha Power, pp. 143—172.

26 ......'Till doubt was heaped upon doubt and he (Akbar) lost all definite aim and the straight wall of clear law and firm religion was broken down, so that after five or six years not a trace of Islam was left in him.' Badauni (Lowe), II. 263.

27 Badauni (Lowe), II. 262—4.

Monserrate's Commentarius.

The Jesuit Fathers in Maclagan J. A. S. C. 1896. I. pp. 38—113.

It is true that Akbar had long ceased to be a *persona grata* with his erstwhile co-religionists, but Salim was no better. He was early influenced by his father's personality, by religious teachers of various persuasions, by Christian missions, and, above all, by the spirit which pervaded the court. During his boyhood, he took some lessons from the Jesuit teachers[3]the best schoolmasters of the age—and formed a close friendship with Father Ridolfo Aquaviva, the head of the first Jesuit Mission to Akbar's court. In 1590 the credulous Greek sub-deacon Leo Grimon, was led to believe that Salim was particularly converted to Christianity. A few years later Xavier found him scoffing at Muhammad and ready to render all possible assistance to his Mission. Salim venerated Christ and the Virgin, though he could never bring himself to believe in Christian theology.[28]

Salim's religious belief.

The latitudinarianism revealed by the Jesuit records is fully borne out by Jahangir's diary. He often appeals to God, but never mentions the name of the Prophet. If he observed the Shab-i-barat, or Id, he celebrated the Hindu festivals, Diwali, Dasahra, Rakshabandhan and Shivaratri with the regularity,

Von Noer, Akbar, I. 329.

V. A. Smith, Akbar, 253-4, 262, 170-6.

Akbar's religious position and the impression it produced on the public are well summed up by Peruschi:—

'The Emperor is not a Mohammadan, but is doubtful as to all forms of faith and holds firmly that there is no divinely accredited form of faith, because he finds in all something to offend his reason and intelligence..........At the court some say that he is heathen and adores the sun, others that he is a Christian, others that he intends to found a new sect. Among the people also there are various opinions regarding the Emperor, some holding him to be a Christian, others a heathen, others a Mohammadan. The more intelligent, however, consider him to be neither Christian nor heathen nor Mohammadan and hold this to be truest. Or they think him to be a Mohammadan who outwardly conforms to all religions in order to obtain popularity.'

28 Monserrate, Maclagan, Vincent A. Smith as before. In particular, Maclagan, pp. 53, 55, 62, 66-7, 69.

'The prince,' writes Xavier. '......shows great affection for us and easily obtains for us whatever we ask for from the emperor. On the first day on which we addressed him, he promised us all that was necessary for the erection of a church and arranged with the emperor to mark out a site for its construction. This rainy season, we ventured to remind him on the subject and he reiterated his promise, adding that he would arrange with his father to appoint men to see at once to the business.'

eagerness, and splendour of a Hindu court.[29] He rejoiced with all his heart at the Persian vernal festival of Nauroz which the orthodox Aurangzeb promptly abolished. He dates his diary generally according to the Persian solar era. He violated orthodox tradition in ordering a translation of the *Quran*.[30] He scandalized all good Muslims by presenting hogs to Christians.[31] His heresy gave rise to the rumour that he was an atheist at heart.[32]

In short, there is not the slightest reason to suppose that Salim was an ardent Mussalman or that he was by temperament and reputation fitted to champion the cause of orthodoxy against Akbar. Religion had nothing to do with the coolness that sprang up between the Emperor and the prince. The whole dispute was secular in origin and was fought on entirely secular ground.[33]

The first clear signs of the storm, which brewed for a decade and burst in 1599, appeared in 1591. Akbar was visited by a severe attack of cholic and in a state of unconsciousness accused Salim of poisoning him through the instrumentality of the royal physician and butler, Hakim Humam.[34] The suspicion was unjust,

Akbar's suspicions of Salim in 1591.

[29] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 246, 268, 361; Vol. II. 94, 95, 100, 176, 186.
'Sometimes,' writes Roe, 'he (Jahangir) will make profession of a Moor (Muslim); but always observe the holidays and do all ceremonies with gentiles too. Embassy, p. 314.

[30] The memoirs of Jahangir.
For the translation of the *Quran*, Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 34-5.

[31] Letters received by the East India Company, Vol. IV. p. 10.
Mauncci I. 158-9 records the tradition about Jahangir's scoffing at the Ramzan fast and casting of lead pigs to scandalize Muslims.

[32] Roe, 313-314.

[33] Price's Jahangir (pp. 32-33) has indeed a passage to the country, but, uncorroborated, it deserves no credence.

[34] Badauni (Lowe II. 390) purports to give the exact words of Akbar:—
'Baba Shaikhuji, since all this
Sultanate will devolve on thee why
Hast thou made this attack on me?
To take away my life there was no need of injustice,
I would have given it to thee if thou hadst asked me.
And he also accused Hakim Humam, in whom he had the perfect confidence, of 'giving him something.'
For Hakim Humam, a noted cook, physician, calligraphist, versifier, and diplomatist, see M. U. (Text), I. pp. 63—65. In old paintings he appears as one of the 'nine jewels' (Navaratna) of Akbar's Court.

but the illness was a serious one. As a vacancy of the throne came within the range of possibility, Salim set his agents to watch the movements of his brother, Murad.

Murad had now attained twenty-one years. During his boyhood he had held out promise of a noble and brilliant career.

Prince Murad.

He had studied under various tutors, amongst others, under Sharif Khan until 1580, when he was placed under the change of the foremost of schoolmasters—the Jesuits. Peruschi pays a glowing tribute to his 'excellent abilities,' 'good disposition,' and 'affectionate nature.' Monserrate, his tutor, calls him an ideal pupil. Aquaviva, who took charge of him after Monserrate's departure, warmly admires his 'great natural genius' and speaks of his progress in Portuguese and Christian studies.[35]

No sooner, however, did the prince reach the verge of youth than he contracted all the vices which can disgrace human nature. Wine and women destroyed his natural vigour and blasted all his prospects in life. His vanity and arrogance disgusted the royal officers. His temper made co-operation with him wholly impossible.[36] It was fortunate for Salim that his rival was such a worthless specimen of humanity. Nor was his youngest brother Daniyal much better. But their very existence was enough to disturb the political atmosphere.

The further progress of the estrangement between Akbar and Salim cannot be traced. If Badauni had been permitted a

Relations of Akbar and Salim.

few more years of health and vigour to continue his *chronique scandaleuse,* he would have thrown flashes of light on the dark, mysterious course of dissensions in the bosom of the Imperial family. But his narrative now grows thinner and practically stops at the year

[35] A. N. (Beveridge) III. 458. Badauni (Lowe), II. 267 Monserrate's Commentarius, pp. 570, 571, 589, 592, 622, 625—9.
Maclagan (J. A. S. B., 1896) I. pp. 50-51.
V. A. Smith, Akbar, pp. 175, 204.

[36] Badauni (Lowe), II. 391-2. A. N. (Text), III. 744. (E. and D.) VI. 95. Writing after the prince's death, Jahangir says, charitably enough that 'dignity and authority were evident in his movements, and manliness and bravery manifested themselves in his ways.' Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 34.

1595.[37] No other chronicler possessed sufficient impartiality and courage, or sufficient aversion to Akbar, to delineate the series of back-stairs intrigue.

When the curtain rises again, we see Akbar hurrying to the southern theatre of war and directing Salim to attack the Ráná of Mewar. The Mughal captains on the Deccan front had signally failed to understand the nature of the struggle in which they were engaged. They compensated themselves for defeat by mutual crimination and recrimination. Prince Murad, whose presence had been expected to secure unity of command and action, sank to the lowest depths of intemperance, disgusted and exasperated all, and made confusion worse confounded. Heedless of all advice, the reckless youth brought on himself delirium tremens and expired on May 2, 1599, to the relief of Salim and the grief of Akbar.[38] Further complications in the situation summoned Akbar himself to the scene of operations. He sought to placate Salim by leaving him in general charge of the north and sought to keep him from mischief by directing him, along with redoutable generals like Raja Man Singh and Shah Quli Khan, to invade Mewar.[39]

Death of Murad, May 2, 1599.

Akbar leaves for the South.

Salim despatched his army against the Ráná, but wasted his own time in sport and riotous living at Ajmere. Far removed from the personality of Akbar, he readily fell under the influence of evil associates who urged him to take advantage of the absence of the Emperor and the Imperial army in the Deccan. Every ruling sovereign is sure to cause some disappointment, to give some offence. Discontent

Salim revolts.

[37] For his life, Blochmann (J. A. S. B., 1869) I. p. 118. (E. and D.) V. p. 477.

[38] His death occurred in his camp at Dihari, close to Jalnapur in the neighbourhood of Berar, a few hours before the arrival of Abul Fazl, who had been sent to bring him back to court.

A. N. III. (Text), 806. (E. and D.), VI. 97.

Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 34.

[39] A. N. III. (Text), 831. (E. and D.), VI. 98. Muhammad Hadi. p. 8. K. K., I. 216. De Laet tr. Lethbridge, *Calcutta, Review*, LVII, 1873, No. CXIII. p. 195.

is sure to look at events through a false perspective and to seize every opportunity of damaging the powers-that-be. A royal prince, especially the eldest prince, offers the most convenient centre for a seditious conspiracy. Salim's mind, heated by ambition and corrupted by ingratitude, readily listened to reasoning which emphasized the defenceless condition of the north and the facility of a *coup de main.* His understanding, only too prone to take an impress from the surrounding society and overclouded by distempered zeal, failed to perceive that the empire was free from any such acute and widespread disaffection as is essential to the success of a revolt or that a sudden move on his part would recall Akbar to the north in no long time. Man Singh certainly threatened to be a serious obstacle but, at this juncture, the news of a formidable insurrection in his province of Bengal, led by the last and not the least of Afghans, placed him under the necessity of leaving Rajputana. Salim dismissed him with honour and, doubtless, with the highest delight.[40]

[40] A. N. (Text). III. 831.
(E. and D.), VI. 98-9. Maasir-i-Jahangiri (Khuda Bakhsh MS.), pp. 12 (*a*), (*b*), 13 (*a*), (*b*).
K. K., I. 216-17-18, 223.
M. U. (Text), II 166—68. (Beveridge), I. 119.
Dorn, History of the Afghans, p. 183.
Du Jarric. Thesaurus, Ch. XII, pp. 112-13.
Terry (p. 408) says that Salim attempted to violate the honour of his step-mother, Anarkali, was disinherited, fled to the east to escape his father's wrath, and broke into revolt.
De Laet (tr. Lethbridge, *Calcutta Review*, 1871, p. 77), who used Terry's account, hints at a similar offence on Salim's part, followed by his instantaneous flight to the east and seizure of Allahabad. But the circumstances of Salim's revolt give the direct lie to such explanations.
For gossipy accounts of Salim's revolt, see Peter Mundy (II. 102) and Manucci (ed. Irvine. I. p. 131).

CHAPTER III

SALIM'S REVOLT

So began a revolt which kept the empire in commotion for five years but which could never seriously jeopardize the stability of the government. Akbar's personality had cast a spell over the empire. His brilliant success and fortune, his transcendent glory and beneficence, had won him the enthusiastic admiration and grateful affection of his subjects. His veteran generals and soldiers, his vast resources in money and ammunition, were more than enough to stamp out any rising within a single year. It was only his paternal tenderness which kept him from making short work of Salim. The prince, on his part, seems to have been fully aware of the weakness of his position and shrank from carrying matters to extremes. He hesitates, he temporises, he negotiates, he repents, he yields. Occasionally, he shakes off the influence of his favourites.

Akbar's strong position.

Among his closest friends during this period was his foster-brother and early playmate, Khubu, grandson of Shaikh Salim Chisti. Nor is it unlikely that his nurse, whom he loved and revered as his mother,[1] had a share in promoting his rebellious designs. Sayyid Abdullah[2] and Zamana Beg, later known as Mahabat Khan,[3] were two other influential associates of the prince.

Salim's friends.

Man Singh seems to have got an inkling of the treason that was being hatched and sought to baffle it by advising the prince to seize the eastern provinces which might bring him into conflict with the Afghan insurgents.[4] But the prince was not taken in. Recalling his forces from the Mewar campaign, he meditated the

Salim goes to Agra.

[1] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 115.
[2] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 27.
[3] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 24.
[4] Maasir-i-Jahangiri (Khuda Bakhsh MS.), p. 13. This seems to be the correct explanation of Man Singh's move. V. A. Smith (Akbar, p. 302)

seizure of the warlike frontier province of the Punjab. At the same time he enriched himself by confiscating over a crore's worth of cash and property left by Shahbaz Khan Kambu who happened to die just then.[5] The design on the Punjab, however, was abandoned, perhaps as too hazardous, and a dash was made on Agra which contained a treasure of over twenty crores of rupees.[6] The commandant, Qulich Khan, was apprised of the prince's treasonable designs and behaved with great tact and firmness. He would not admit Salim within the fort, but came out to see him with suitable presents. He was all courtesy and politeness, but firmly refused to betray his charge. The prince had the wisdom to resist his hot-blooded friends' advice to seize the old man. Making virtue of a necessity, he finally pretended to entrust Qulich Khan with full charge of the city and prepared to march eastward. His departure was hastened by the news that his grandmother, Maryam Makani, was on her way to admonish him. His refractory conduct had caused a profound sensation in the Imperial seraglio and grieved none more than the empress-dowager who had always loved him with more than a mother's love. An interview with her was more than the prince could stand in his present frame of mind. He hastily took boat for Allahabad, bid the sailors row fast and commanded his troops to follow him on land.[7]

thinks that Man Singh's counsel 'would have been offered for the purpose of keeping Salim out of the way and opening up Khusrau's path to the throne.' But the conspiracy to supersede Salim by Khusrau had not yet been formed. Man Singh would hardly be guilty of destroying the peace of his master by inciting his son to revolt. It may be mentioned that, in his next visit to the Imperial Court Man Singh was rewarded with the unprecedented rank of 7,000.

5 De Laet, pp. 192 to 206, tr. Lethbridge, p. 196, says that the treasure exceeded a crore of rupees. For Kambu's life (M. U. and Blochmann, 399–402).

6 According to the Jesuit accounts, Agra contained a treasure of £20,000,000 on Akbar's death. See V. A. Smith, J. R. A. S., November 1915, pp. 235–43.

7 A. N. (Text), III. 831. (E. and D.), VI. 99, Muhammad Hadi, p. 8. Maasir-i-Jahangiri (Khuda Bakhsh MS.), 13 (*b*) Gladwin IV. K. K., I. 218. M. U., II. 167.

Mirat-ul-Alam. 297 (*b*). De Laet (tr. Lethbridge, p. 196.) Inayatullah (E. and D.), VI. 104 says that the emperor had directed Salim to unite his forces with those of Raja Man Singh in Bengal. But that was certainly not the cause of the Prince's hasty departure.

A pleasant voyage of twelve days brought the prince to Allahabad.[8] He entrenched himself within the strong fort built by Akbar, extended his rule over part of Bihar, and assumed the insignia of independence. Khubu was created Qutbuddin Khan and appointed to govern Bihar. Lal Beg was sent to administer Jaunpur, while Kalpi fell to the share of Yatim Bahadur. The thirty lakhs of rupees in the treasury of Bihar were appropriated to the prince's service. Jagirs and titles were granted to his principal supporters. Among others Abdullah received the designation of Khan.[9]

Salim at Allahabad.

Assumes independence.

The news of these transactions found Akbar before the impregnable fortress of Asir in Khandesh.[10] He resisted the counsels of the advocates of strong measures and only demanded in kind, affectionate, though dignified language, an explanation of his conduct from the prince. He despatched, on a mission of peace and conciliation, Khwaja Muhammad Sharif, a playmate and boon companion of the prince, but a nerveless mediocrity. Salim received the imperial message with all respect and honour, but was prevailed upon by his friends to avoid all signs of repentance and plead his perfect innocence in reply. He easily won over Sharif and made him his chief minister.[11] He began to raise a large army.

Akbar attempts reconciliation.

[8] For Allahabad during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Ain (Jarrett). II. 158. Peter Mundy, II. 108. Travenier, I. 106-7. Khulasat ut Tawarikh, tr. Sarkar's India of Aurangzeb, pp. 26-7.

[9] Maasr-i-Jahangiri 13 (*b*), 14 (*a*), Gladwin IV-V. Muhammad Hadi, p. 9. K. K., I. 220-221.

[10] For a description of the fort and its provisions, see Faizi Sirhindi, Akbarnama (E. and D.), Vol. 139—41. Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 34-5 mentions the siege and Akbar's subsequent return to the north, but is silent as to his own revolt.

[11] A. N. (Text), III. 831. (E. and D.), VI. 99.
Maasir-i-Jahangiri 14 (*b*). Gladwin IV-V.
Muhammad Hadi, p. 9. K. K., I. 220.
M. U., III. 626. For the life of Sharif, M. U., III. 625—29. Blochmann, 517—18.
M. U. represents Salim as promising to divide the kingdom with Sharif on his accession. Perhaps there was nothing more than a promise of share of authority.

The middle of 1601 saw Akbar at Agra and Salim marching thither at the head of over thirty thousand men, robbing and plundering on the way. The prince declared that the only object of his march was to pay his respects to his father, but no one was imposed upon by the pretence. All gentle means proving futile, Akbar issued a peremptory command to his son either to dismiss his followers and come to him with a few select attendants or to return immediately to Allahabad.

Akbar's return to Agra.

Salim's march to Agra.

The ultimatum, backed, no doubt, by armed preparations, frightened Salim into sumbission. From Etawah he despatched Mir Sadr Jahan to assure the Emperor of his fidelity and unswerving allegiance. He set out for Allahabad and was invested by Akbar with the governorship of Bengal and Orissa.[12]

Retreat to Allahabad.

At Allahabad, however, the prince succumbed once more to evil influences. He would not weaken himself by sending officers to take charge of Bengal and Orissa. He assumed the title of king, though still designating his father as the great king. He set up a regular court and requested the Provincial of Goa, though in vain, to accredit missionaries to him. He entertained thoughts of procuring some sort of military aid from the Portuguese authorities at Goa. He issued farmans and granted titles and jagirs.[13]

Salim sets up an independent Court at Allahabad.

12 Takmil Akbarnama (E. and D.), VI. 105.
Maasir-i-Jahangiiri, 15—17. Gladwin V-VI.
Mahammad Hadi, p. 10.
K. K., I. 221-2.
Inayatullah seeks to minimise Salim's treason and accepts his proclamations on his way to Agra.
De Laet (tr. Lethbridge, p. 198) gives a different version and places Salim's army at 70,000.
Du Jarric (Ch. xiii, p. 113) says that Salim proved too strong for Akbar and had to be conciliated by Akbar. Besides being intrinsically improbable, the statement finds no support from any other contemporary record.

13 Inayatullah, Maasir-i-Jahangiri, Khafi Khan and Gladwin as before.
Du Jarric III. Ch. xiii, pp. 113—21.

In this predicament, Akbar summoned to his side his most faithful counsellor, Abul Fazl, who had been left in charge of the Deccan. Salim perceived that the influence of his bitter enemy would convert his father's erstwhile paternal lenity into stern assertion of authority and might even lead to his disinheritance. He resolved on the assassination of the great man and enlisted, in the execution of the infamous plot, the services of a reckless Bundela chief, Bir Singh.[14]

Akbar recalls Abul Fazl.

Salim resolves on the murder of Abul Fazl.

A century earlier, the Bundelas, a clan of the Gahwar Rajputs, had migrated into and colonized the region south of the Jumna which to this day bears the name of Bundelkhand. A sturdy physique, a restless spirit of adventure and enterprise, courage and intrepidity, distinguished them from their neighbours and made them the terror of the countryside. The dense forests, the rapid streams and the steep hills of Central India shielded them from the vengeance of the Mughal power. For nearly two centuries they

The Bundelas.

De Laet, tr. Lethbridge, p. 198.
Maclagan, pp. 88-89.
V. A. Smith, Akbar, 303.
The Jesuits were very cautious in their dealings with Salim. Xavier showed to Akbar the letter he received from Salim.
De Laet says that Salim, in the course of the negotiations which he opened with Akbar, required permission to visit his father at the head of 70,000 men, confirmation of all his grants, and a general amnesty to his followers. The negotiations accordingly failed. See De Laet, 199—208 (tr. Lethbridge 197). V. A. Smith, p. 304.
One of the farmans issued by Salim is preserved in the Museum Library, Fyzabad.

14 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 24-5. Maasir-i-Jahangiri (E. and D.). VI. 442-3. K. K., I. 223. M. U. (Beveridge), I. 122-23, 423.
Price's Jahangir (pp. 32-33) ascribes his conduct to pious religious motives which find no mention in the authentic memoirs.
Strangely enough Inayatullah [Takmil Akbarnama, (E. and D.). VI. 107] ascribes Abul Fazl's recall to Akbar's displeasure at his reports of Salim's indiscretions. The author of Maasir-ul-Umara (Beveridge, I. 122) and, following him, Blochmann (Ain, preface p. xxxiv) suppose that Abul Fazl was recalled because many of Akbar's best officers had espoused the prince's cause. As a matter of fact, none of the great officers sided with Salim. Curiously enough, Du Jarrie calls Abul Fazl one of the followers of Prince Salim.

spread turmoil, confusion and anarchy over the region which separated the Doab from Gondwana.[15] Bir Singh Deo, the head of the Bundelas,[16] was in open revolt against Akbar when he was asked by Salim about the middle of 1602 to waylay and murder Abul Fazl. He readily closed with the offer and made his arrangements with his usual audacity, along the highway which his victim was expected to follow.

Bir Singh Deo accepts Salim's offer.

News of the plot leaked out. Abul Fazl was warned and pressed by his friends to alter the route, but he replied haughtily, 'What power have robbers to block my path?' At Sironj, he was persuaded to exchange his own troops for the recruits which a royal officer, Gopal Das Nakta, had raised. Amongst others, he insisted on dismissing his faithful lieutenant, Asad Beg, who was intensely eager to escort him. At Serai Barar, he was warned by a mendicant in the clearest terms that he would be set upon by armed bands the following day. Abul Fazl rewarded the informant but refused to pay the slightest heed to his warning. As the sun rose on Friday morn, the beat of drums gave the marching signal. No sooner had the party begun to move than they were assaulted by the advance-guard of the Bundelas. The attack was repulsed. Mirza Muhsin, who went out to reconnoitre, reported that a large well-armed Bundela force stood in battle array

Abul Fazl marches northward, August, 1602.

Attacked by the Bundelas.

15 For various suggestions regarding the origin of Bundelas and their name, see Sir H. M. Elliot's Memoirs of the History, Folklore and Distribution of the Races of the North-Western Provinces of India, edited by John Beams, pp. 45-6.

For a history of the Bundelas, the Hindi poet Lal's Chhatra Prakash, Pogson's History of the Bundelas, specially pp. 20—43. Bundelon ki Banshavali. Chhatarpur MS.

Also V. A. Smith, History of Bundelkhand, J. A. S. B., 1881. Cunningham, Archaeological Survey Reports, Vols. VII. XXI.

Imperial Gazetter, Vol. IX. 69—72.

See also M. U., II. 131—136. 317—323.

16 For Bir Singh's life M. U. (Beveridge), I. He was the son of Madhukar Sah (M. U., II. 131—136). Bir Singh is erroneously called Nar Singh by most of the Persian historians.

The great Hindi poet Keshava Das's Bir Singh Deo Charitra is of little value from the point of view of political history.

at no long distance. He earnestly advised his companions to hurry along. But a fatality dogged the steps of Abul Fazl. 'You mean,' he asked in a reproachful tone, 'we are to fly?' 'It is not flying, only let us go thus,' replied the Mirza as he spurred his horse. 'Let us proceed in this way; as I am going, so do you go, as far as Gwalior.' But Abul Falz was deaf to all prudence at this juncture. When the numbers of the approaching foe clearly showed all encounter to be hopeless, he was advised to seek shelter with Raja Rai Singh and Rai Rayan, who were encamped with 2,000 men at a distance of four miles. But Abul Fazl scorned the suggestion with disdain. Soon his slender following was attacked by 500 horse clad in mail. They offered a gallant resistance but the odds were against them.

The Afghan, Gadai Khan, one of the devoted adherents of Abul Fazl, seized the bridle of his master's horse and exclaimed. 'What have you to do here? Do you begone! This is our business.' But Abul Fazl was no coward. He fought with courage and valour. Another retainer seized the bridle of his horse and forcibly turned him round. At this conjuncture a Rajput struck him with a spear through and through. The Shaikh tried to leap his horse over a stream in front but fell in the attempt. Jabbar Khas Khail, another of his adherents, drew him from under the horse and carried him unconscious to the shade of a tree. Cutting their way through the raw recruits, the Bundelas soon came on the spot. A captive elephant-driver pointed out the Shaikh. Bir Singh forthwith dismounted, sat down, placed the wounded man's head on his knees and began to wipe his face with his own garment. His apparent kindness drew Jabbar from behind the tree. Just at the moment, Abul Fazl came to his senses and opened his eyes. Bir Singh saluted him and said to him, 'The all-conquering lord has sent for you courteously.' Abul Fazl looked bitterly at him. Bir Singh swore to carry him away in perfect safety. Abul Fazl abused him in anger. Bir Singh was told by his adherents that the wound being mortal Abdul Fazl could not be carried away. On this Jabbar drew his sword, despatched several Bundelas, and had nearly reached Bir Singh,

Wounded.

when he was stabbed and trampled to death. Bir Singh rose from the Shaikh's head and signed to his followers to despatch the helpless man. With his head the Bundelas marched off in haste, molesting no one else and even releasing the prisoners they had taken. The head was sent to Salim to be insulted at Allahabad. The trunk was interred more honourably at the village of Antari.[17]

Killed.

The news of the dastardly murder created something like a consternation at Agra. No one had the courage to break it to the Emperor. Among the Chagatais, the death of a prince was announced by the appearance of his official representative with a blue kerchief on his arms. Abul Fazl's vakil now presented himself to Akbar with similar signs of mourning. The blow prostrated Akbar. For twenty-four hours he simply writhed in agony, weeping and crying like a helpless babe. If the prince aimed at the kingship, he said, he should have killed him and spared his friend.[18]

Akbar's grief.

Akbar decreed dire vengeance against Bir Singh Bundela and charged Ray Rayan to extirpate him. The Bundelas resorted to those guerilla tactics which, in the hands of rude fierce hillmen, have so often baffled large well-trained forces. Chased from place to place, from fort to fort, Bir Singh sought shelter in the stronghold of Iraj on the Betwa. Ray Rayan closely invested the place, but the Bundelas eluded his vigilance and marched

Relentless pursuit of Bir Singh Bundela, 1602–5.

17 Asad Beg, Wiquaya (E. and D.), VI., 156–160.
Takmil Akbarnama (E. and D.), IV. 107.
Maasir-i-Jahangiri (E. and D.), VI. 442–4.
Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 25. Muhammad Hadi, p. 10. K. K., I. 223.
Khulasat ut Tawarikh (Delhi edition), pp. 433-4.
M. U. (Beveridge), I. 123, 423.
Gladwin, p. viii.
Abul Fazl's tomb may still be seen at Antari, in the State of Gwalior, *The Asiatic Quarterly Review*, p. 370.

18 Asad Beg, Wiquaya (E. and D.), VI. 155.
M. U. (Beveridge), I. 123-4.
Akbar is said to have uttered the following verse *ex-tempore*:—
'When our Shaikh came towards us with eager longing,
A desire of kissing our feet lost him, head and foot.'
Salim is said to have thrown Abul Fazl's head into an unworthy place.

away by night into recesses of the jungle. The Emperor flew into a high rage at the remissness of the officers and deputed Asad Beg to inquire into the whole affair on the spot. After a thorough investigation, he reported that while none had been guilty of treachery, all alike had displayed gross negligence. The Emperor superseded them all and entrusted the chief command of the punitive expedition to Abdur Rahman, son of Abul Fazl. But the utmost efforts of the Mughals failed to capture Bir Singh. He was once wounded, but succeeded in making his escape with blistered feet. The Bundelas poisoned the wells, cut off the supplies of the Mughals, avoided a pitched battle and reduced their adversaries to sore straits. Nothing daunted, the Emperor continued, till the close of his reign, to send reinforcements to hunt down the murderer of his friend.[19]

But the arch-culprit was shielded from the rigours of justice by parental weakness, harem influences, and exigencies of state.

Mission of Sultan Salima Begam to Prince Salim.

Salim richly deserved capital punishment, but the father and statesman in Akbar overcame the judge. No other Mughal prince was marked out by age or accomplishments for the succession. Daniyal was a dissolute, drunken youth rapidly sinking into the grave. Salim's children were too young and the accession of any one of them threatened all the horrors of civil war and all the troubles of a regency. Moreover, Salim's execution would have raised a storm among the royal ladies. With all his faults, he was still the darling of his grandmother and his stepmother, the accomplished Sultan Salima Begam. From her learning, wisdom, and sagacity, she was honoured as the Khadijah of the age.[20] Within a few months of Abdul Fazl's murder, she volun-

[19] Asad Beg (E. and D.), VI. 160–2.
Takmil Akbarnama (E. and D.), VI. 108–114.
M. U. (Beveridge), I. 411-12, 423–25.
Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 24-5.
It is to Asad Beg's mission of inquiry that we owe a detailed knowledge of the circumstances of Abul Fazl's murder.

[20] For Sultan Salima Begam, see Gulbadan Begam's Humayun Nama, ed. Annette, S. Beveridge, pp. 276–81. Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 232. K. K., I. 276. Darbar-i-Akbari, p. 736. She was the widow of Bairam Khan Khan-i-Khana.

teered to go to Allahabad on a mission of peace and reconciliation. The prince marched out two stages to receive her with all honour and reverence. She employed all her talents and all her influence to persuade him to return to the path of duty and loyalty and promised to intercede for his pardon with Akbar. Salim's young friends still pressed him to persist in his design of independence, but the better counsels of the Begam prevailed. She set out with her darling for Agra and arranged with Maryam Makani for as complete a reconciliation as possible between father and son. From Etawah, Salim wrote to Akbar to tender an apology for his recent conduct, and express the hope of a speedy prostration in the royal presence. Maryam Makani came out a stage to receive him. A pathetic scene was enacted when the venerable lady clasped to her bosom the prodigal grandson who, three years before, had avoided her so undutifully. Lodged in her apartments, the prince desired the court astrologers to fix an hour for his meeting with his father, but Akbar replied that all hours were equally auspicious for an interview of harmony and concord. As the Emperor, entered the apartments of his mother, she rose with Sultan Salima Begam and threw Salim at his feet. The affectionate father raised him in his arms.[21]

Salim is persuaded to return with her to Agra.

Reconciled to Akbar, April, 1603.

The prince gave up 354 of his elephants, which amounted to a partial disarmament. He presented a thousand muhars to his

21 Maasir-i-Jahangiri (Khuda Bakhsh MS.), 18-19.
Muhammad Hadi, pp. 11-12.
Takmil Akbarnama (E. and D.), VI 108-9 seeks to minimise Salim's treason.
Khafi Khan (I. 223—5) borrows all his facts from Maasir-i-Jahangiri.
Gladwin, p. vii.
It is on the basis of his election to prefer Sultan Salima Begam's advice to that of his friends that Jahangir later prided himself on his refusal to rebel at all against his father. 'Short-sighted men in Allahabad,' he says in the course of his condemnation of Khusrau's revolt, 'had urged me also to rebel against my father. Their words were unacceptable and disapproved by me. I know what sort of endurance a kingdom would have, the foundations of which were laid on hostility to a father......acting according to the dictates of reason and knowledge I waited on my father, my guide, my qibla and my visible God, and as a result of this good purpose it went well with me.' Jahangir (R. and B.), I. p. 65. See also p. 68.

father. He was honoured with rich dresses, jewelled swords, a rare elephant and what was most significant of all, a turban just taken off the Emperor's head. He was publicly proclaimed afresh as heir-apparent. The festivities of the reconciliation drowned the city of Agra in joy and merriment.[22]

The emperor sought to keep Salim from the influence of his associates and from mischief by deputing him to resume the Mewar campaign which he had left unfinished in 1599. On the day when the court was astir with rejoicings at the Hindu festival of Victory,[23] the prince left Agra at the head of a large force and marched as far as his birthplace, Fathpur Sikri. But he displayed the greatest reluctance to move any further. He must have realized his inadequacy to the task which had baffled Akbar, Bhagwan Das and Man Singh. He lacked the martial ardour, the passion for action, the talent for generalship, the genius for command, the capacity for organization, the resourcefulness which were requisite for the reduction of the Rajputs and the Bhils, the hills and the vales of Mewar. He was only too likely to disgrace himself in the eyes of the army and the people and to expose himself to the sneers of his enemies. He would have to absent himself for years from the centre of affairs—years which might decide the question of the succession, that is, his entire career and destiny.

Commanded to resume the Mewar campaign, 1603.

Even if he accepted all the risks, he doubted if he would receive whole-hearted support from the head-quarters. Accordingly, at Fathpur Sikri, he made up his mind to advance no more. As open disobedience would mean rebellion, he resorted to subterfuge to gain his object. He repeatedly complained that the Imperial officers neglected to supply him with the requisite cavalry, artillery and ammunition for the campaign; that he waited in vain for reinforcements; that he could not be expected to risk his

Reluctant to march beyond Fathpur Sikri.

22 Takmil Akbarnama, Von Noer, II. p. 411. K. K., I. 225.
23 Dashara or Vijayadashami.

fame at the head of inadequate forces. Then he preferred extravagant demands for men and money and, when these failed to arrive, renewed his murmurs. Constant begging, he represented, was shameful to himself and distressing to His Majesty. He might be permitted to return to his own jagirs and equip himself fully from his own resources.

The trend of Salim's mind was unmistakable. Akbar sent Bakhtunnisa Begam, an aunt of the prince, to bring him to reason, but the mission ended in failure. Akbar leaned to moderate measures and, against the better judgment of his counsellors, permitted him to return to Allahabad and to present himself at the court at his will.[24]

Permitted to return to Allahabad.

Leaving Fathpur Sikri on November 10, 1603, Salim passed *via* Muttra to Allahabad.[25] He commanded public rejoicings to celebrate his reconciliation with his father, but the atmosphere of Allahabad was not long in producing its usual noxious effect on him. An independent court was set up again. Titles and grants were conferred in lavish profusion on favourites and minions.

Assumes independence again.

24 Takmil Akbarnama (E. and D.). VI. 110.
Muhammad Hadi, pp. 12-13.
K. K., I. 225-6.
Maasir-i-Jahangiri (Khuda Bakhsh MS., 20-21) seeks to minimise the extent of Salim's recalcitrance. Gladwin (p. viii) follows its version.
While at Fathpur Sikri, the prince received two visits from Xavier. The Jesuit Father was accorded a hearty welcome. The prince was as friendly to Christians and as reverntial to the Trinity as ever. He was still addicted to hard drinking.
'When I took my leave,' continues Xavier, 'the prince gave me five hundred rupees for the Church. His seat was slightly raised and when I would have bent down to touch his feet, he raised me in his arms, as he might a beloved brother, and begged me to recommend him much to the Lord Jesus.'
See Maclagan, 91-2.
The visits are mentioned in a letter, dated September 6, 1604, but as Salim is not recorded by historians to have sojourned a second time at Fathpur Sikri, those visits must have been paid in 1603.

25 Xavier (Maclagan, 91-2) says that the prince avoided Agra because he did not want to fall into the snare again. It is not known what the snare was into which he had fallen before.

Akbar's solitary state.

Akbar was deeply distressed at the deplorable turn which affairs were taking. For some time past he had been rapidly declining in health. Forty years of incessant activity had done their work. Many of his closest friends and associates had passed away. Void after void was created in his singularly full life. Raja Bir Bal, the born humorist and story-teller, had fallen in a conflict against the Yusufzais as early as 1586. Three years later Raja Todar Mal, the prince of Indian financiers, and Raja Bhagwan Das, the gallant, chivalrous general, expired within forty days of each other. On August 6, 1593, Shaikh Mubarak, famous as a leader of religious thought and as the father of Abul Fazl and Faizi, breathed his last at the advanced age of ninety. Faizi, himself, the greatest poet and scholar at the court, followed his father on October 4, 1595. Last but not least, Abul Fazl met a violent death in the wilds of Central India in August, 1602.[26] Poignant as was his bloody end, far more poignant were the circumstances which brought it about. Salim, the darling of his family, was steeped in debauch, intemperance, and sedition, and had surrendered himself to reckless associates. Murad had already descended into a dishonourable grave. Daniyal was fast sinking into the bottomless abyss. Such was the inglorious career of the young men whose father was raised by superstitious folk to the honours of godhead. In his solitary state, his mind was tortured by the disappointments he suffered, and by the ingratitude and treason of which he was the object. His spirits visibly affected his constitution. As his end came in sight, the question of the succession assumed its most formidable aspect.

The plot to supersede Salim.

For once in Mughal history, the eldest prince might have had a chance of accession to the throne in harmony and concord, but his own dissolute habits and recklessness roused serious misgivings in the minds of all who were devoted to the cause of the Empire. What was to be expected of a man sunk in luxury and drink,

26 For the biographies of these personages, see Maasir-ul-Umara; Darbar-i-Akbari, Blochmann, and Beale.

weak in character to the point of criminality, a slave to selfish, short-sighted counsel, capable of atrocious treachery, inpatient of power and yet singularly lacking in generalship or statesmanship, ungrateful to a fondly indulgent father and insensible to the entreaties of a doting mother and grandmother? Akbar had raised the empire to the pinnacle of glory and prosperity. Should it be suffered to be whirled into misery and confusion for the sake of an individual who had no claim to the public gratitude? The remnant of the old nobility perceived that the accession of Salim spelt their fall from power. They would see the offices which they had filled with honour to themselves and glory to the State disgraced by selfish mediocrity. Public spirit and personal interest combined to suggest plans for the supersession of Salim by one who would continue the traditions of the empire and honour the Nestors of the Imperial service. Daniyal being out of the question, the choice could only fall on Salim's eldest son, Khusrau, who had reached his seventeenth year and who happened to be connected by the closest ties of blood with the two greatest nobles of the empire. He was the nephew of Raja Man Singh and the son-in-law of Mirza Aziz Koka.

Raja Man Singh.

Akbar's marriage with Maryam-uz-Zamani in 1562 had raised the Kachhwaha family to the highest position and influence in the Imperial peerage. No Raja, no grandee, was honoured by Akbar more than Raja Bhar Mal. His son, Bhagwan Das, inherited his abilities and succeeded to his rank in 1569. He distinguished himself in many a compaign in Gujerat, Mewar, Kashmir, and Afghanistan. To the valour of a soldier and talents of a general, he added the true Rajput sense of honour, of sanctity of the plighted word, the true Rajput contempt of danger and death. He allied himself afresh with the Mughal house and celebrated his daughter's wedding with a splendour which dazzled the richest nobles of the richest monarch in the world. He rose to the rank of 5000, then the highest open to any one except princes of the blood. In 1589 his wealth, dominion, rank, and influence descended to his adopted son, Kunwar Man Singh, who, from a boy, had evinced the keenest military aptitudes. The battlefields of

Gujerat, Mewar, Afghanistan, and Bengal commemorated his intrepid courage, heroic valour, and tactical skill. His devotion to Akbar knew no bounds. For him he was ready to suffer all, to hazard all. For the last few years he had been governor of the ever-turbulent province of Bengal. After the suppression of Usman's revolt, he presented himself at court in 1604, when he was raised to the rank of 7000.[27] Even before his return he seems to have entered into an alliance with Mirza Aziz Koka, the Khan Azam or premier lord of the realm.

Mirza Aziz Koka.

Aziz was the foster-brother, playmate, and close friend of Akbar. He could not bear with dignity the greatness which an accident thrust upon him. His tastes were sensual, his temper violent, his wit sharp, and his tongue venomous and unrestrained. When his passions were excited, he was capable not only of harsh language and violent action, but also of calculated cunning and treachery. More than once he gave cause for deep offence to Akbar, but the great man endured all. 'Between me and Aziz,' he would say, 'there is the link of a river of milk which cannot pass away.' When Aziz railed against Akbar's religious innovations and retired in high dudgeon to Mecca, the emperor liberally patronized his relations and dependents. Aziz himself found his religious zeal cooled by the fleecing to which the harpies of the holy city subjected him. He returned to India, to be received by his master with all his old outpourings of love. He did not hesitate to join an order whose members were pledged to surrender life, property, honour, even religion to the emperor.

Yet he was not wholly without abilities. His skill as a military commander was acknowledged on all hands. His capacity for organization was far above the average. He was a brilliant writer and conversationist. The extensive grants and

27 For Man Singh's life, M. U., II. 160-170. Blochmann, 339—41. For his exploits, any chronicle of Akbar's reign. Also Tod, Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan. The bards and poets of Amber have sung of Man Singh's exploits as if they were performed by an independent monarch.
He was supposed to have 1,500 wives and to have about 4,000 children, most of whom, however, died in infancy.

emoluments which he received partly served to patronize literary merit. He had married his daughter to Sultan Khusrau and had every reason to long for his accession to the throne. 'I am willing,' he is said to have repeatedly declared, 'that they (the fates) should convey the good news of his sovereignty to my right ear and should seize my soul at the left.'[28]

Khusrau was now a young boy of seventeen, of eminently handsome countenance, agreeable manners, and irreproachable character. Akbar himself had directed his training. He had commenced his education under no less a man than Abul Fazl, assisted by his brother, the learned Abul Khair. For a while Raja Man Singh had been his guardian. A learned Brahman, Sheo Datt, surnamed Bhattacharya, had initiated him into Hindu lore. From the atmosphere of the court he imbibed a rare breadth of culture and liberality of sentiment. His normal virtues were set off to the highest advantage by the contrast which the scandalous ways of his father and uncles furnished. The political controversies which raged round him early awakened his instincts of domination. He readily identified himself with his uncle and his father-in-law who sought to place him on the throne.[29]

Sultan Khusrau.

He threw himself with all his heart into the plot and frequently slandered his father. His mother was mortified beyond

28 For Aziz Koka's life Iqbalnama, p. 230, which is largely drawn upon by Khafi Khan (I. 201), M. U. (Beveridge, I. pp. 319—335). Blochmann, 325—28.

Darbar Akbari, 739.

See also Abul Fazl, Nizamuddin and Badauni for scattered notices.

In 1571 Aziz Koka gave a banquet of unprecedented magnificence to Akbar and his retinue at his jagir. The infant prince Salim was with Akbar and was presented with precious jewels, etc.

29 For Khusrau, A. N. III. 523, 604, 647, 839. Amal-i-Salih. Terry's Voyage to India, p. 411. Pinheiro, a member of the third Jesuit Mission to Akbar's court, records a pleasing, though trivial, incident of the year 1595. Pinheiro showed the emperor pictures of the Christ and the Virgin. 'When we saw the holy pictures, continues Pinheiro, 'we knelt down, and seeing this, the emperor's ten-year-old grandson, the prince's son, also clasped his hands and bent his knees; whereon the emperor was delighted and said to the prince, "Look at your son." Maclagan, p. 68. Khusrau was at the time only eight years of age.

measure at the open conflict between her son and her husband.

Shah Begam's suicide, May 16, 1604.

She frequently wrote to Khusrau to adhere to Salim and to renounce all association with his enemies, but she failed to dispel the dream of sovereignty which possessed the mind of the boy. Her distress was doubled when she learnt that her brother, Madho Singh, had likewise thrown in his lot with the faction hostile to her husband. The double agony was too much for Shah Begam's mind which heredity had imbued with melancholy and tinctured with insanity and which her husband's misconduct and the brawls of a polygamous household had soured. Several times she fell into fits of mental derangement. At length her failure to set matters right, her unbearable agony and distress determined her to commit suicide. On May 16, 1604, Salim was recalled from a hunt by a message that his favourite wife was writhing in convulsions from the large draught of opium she had swallowed. Before he reached home, all was over.[30] She was interred in the pleasure-garden which some years later was to shelter the remains of her son and to be known to posterity as the Khusrau Bagh.[31]

The most cruel of all domestic misfortunes completely prostrated Salim for a while and drew an affectionate letter of warm

Akbar's sympathy.

condolence from Akbar,[32] but its net result was to sour the prince's temper beyond all precedent. The brawls of his little court led to

[30] Takmil Akbarnama (E. and D.), VI. 112 wrongly ascribes her suicide to a quarrel with a co-wife.Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 55-56. K. K. (I. 227) wrongly gives 1011 A. H. as the year of her death.

M. U. (Beveridge), I. 405. Beveridge (J. R. A. S.), 1907, p. 604.

Curiously enough, Neville (*District Gazetteer*, xxiii, Allahabad, p. 169) says that Khusrau's cause was espoused by his mother.

[31] The garden still stands at a stone's throw from the East Indian Railway Station, Allahabad, and is very well kept, though the tombs are in a neglected condition. Shah Begam lies in the third building from the west, which contains, besides her own large tomb in the centre, several small sepulchres. The real tomb has little beauty or splendour, but the replica above is quite a fine little structure. For the inscription thereon and its translation, Beveridge (J. R. A. S.), 1907, p. 604.

Also Beale, Miftahut Tawarikh, p. 334. See also Heber, ii. 443.

Murray's Handbook for Bengal, pp. 363-4. contains numerous errors.

[32] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 55-56.

Takmil Akbarnama (E. and D., VI, 112. K. K., I. 227.

the desertion of the gallant Abdullah Khan[33] and completed his exasperation. He sought to drown his vexations in draughts of wine and opium, but the remedy only aggravated the disease.

Salim's tyranny.

His fame draws its darkest stain from his actions at this time. A trifle sufficed to irritate his spirits and to rush him into ruthless ferocity.[34] A sickening incident had already proclaimed to the world that his naturally kind heart had been hardened to that callousness which marks the worst species of tyranny.

A news recorder, already suspected of complicity in a plot against Salim's life, fell in love with a favourite eunuch of the

A disgraceful incident.

prince and eloped with him. They took the southern road and probably intended to seek refuge with Sultan Daniyal. No sooner was their flight discovered than a party of swift horse was sent in pursuit. The culprits were apprehended on the sixth day of their departure and were brought to Allahabad. Another man was found to be implicated in the conspiracy. In a paroxym of rage, the prince commanded one of the three to be severely beaten, another to be castrated, and the third to be flayed alive in his presence.

Akbar was horrified to learn of the barbarity of which the prince showed himself capable. In a letter of earnest remonstrance he said that he could never bring himself to watch the flaying a dead goat and wondered how his son could see the operation on a living human being.[35]

Salim's conduct, indeed, admits of no defence, but fairness must point out that victims were guilty of the most heinous immorality and the darkest treason. It must be emphasized that this was the only occasion when the prince inflicted the barbarous punishment of flaying which Akbar had severely interdicted. Nor was he ever subject to the most odious vice that can disgrace human nature—a delight in misery as misery.

33 Muhammad Hadi, p. 13.
K. K., I. 227.
M. U. (Beveridge), I. p. 97.
34 Takmil Akbarnama (E. and D.), VI. 112-13. K. K., I 227-8.
35 Muhammad Hadi, p. 14. K. K., I. 227-8. Gladwin, p. ix.

If the victims of Salim's rage had eluded the pursuit, they would hardly have been safe for long. Sultan Daniyal was in the last convulsions of a miserable collapse. His boyhood, indeed, had held forth the promise of a happy and glorious manhood. He was gifted with a robust vigour of mind and body, a handsome countenance, fine manners, and winning address. Exercise had improved his health, made him a fine sportsman and given him an excessive fondness for horses and elephants. Education had not been wholly wasted on him. He delighted in Hindi song and acquired some proficiency in Hindi versification. He married a daughter of Abdur Rahim Khan Khánà, who might have been expected to have a wholesome influence on him. But as he approached the prime of life, he gave himself up to intemperance and debauchery. Akbar entrusted him with responsible office, but business could not dispel the attractions of beauty and wine. When left in charge of the Deccan, he sounded the profoundest depths of intemperance. Abdur Rahim exhausted his powers of persuasion in vain. From a distance Akbar poured forth his advice in vain. He summoned him to the court, but the command was disregarded. He even charged Abdur Rahim with negligence and exhorted him to renewed effort to reform his son-in-law. But the young man was past all redemption. In 1604 Akbar sent Shaikh Abul Khair, brother of Abul Fazl, to bring Daniyal to court by any means, but now he was much too debelitated to move. Abdur Rahim stopped his supply of alcohol and posted a strong guard to enforce the prohibition. The prince fell to weeping and lamentation, implored, entreated, and bribed his attendants to bring wine by some means or other. A few of them were weak or base enough to get him a supply in phials concealed in their turbans and, worse still, in barrels of gun-powder. Murshid Quli Khan, in particular, brought double-distilled spirit in the barrels of an old musket, styled, from its efficiency in sport, 'the same as the bier' (yak-a-u jánaza). The strength of the spirit dissolved the rust and hastened the inevitable end of

Sultan Daniyal.

His intemperance.

Death.

the prince. A chronic illness of forty days terminated in death in April, 1604.[36]

The melancholy event cleared another rival from the path of Salim, but the latter persisted in his vicious and treasonable ways and at last exhausted the patience of Akbar. In August, 1604, the emperor, disregarding the sentiments of his ailing mother and his wives, resolved to reduce the prince by force of arms into a more submissive mood and to keep him at Agra, far from the noxious influences of Allahabad. Salim was alarmed, but fortune saved him from public humiliation. Akbar had not sailed far down the Jumna when his boat struck at a ridge of sand and went hopelessly aground. Another barge was called, but next day the torrential rains converted the countryside into one vast sheet of water and rendered the movements of the army impossible. At this juncture, news came that the illness of the empress-dowager had taken a very dangerous turn. The messengers, whom the emperor instantly despatched to Agra, returned to tell him that she was on the point of death. Akbar retreated post-haste to Agra and found the venerable lady speechless. A few hours more and all was over.[37]

Akbar starts on an expedition to Allahabad, August, 1604.

Death of Maryam Makani.

[36] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 34–6. Faizi Sirhindi Akbarnama (E. and D.), VI. 146. Takmil Akbarnama (E. and D.,) VI. 112, 114, K. K., I. 228. Khulasat ut Tawarikh (Delhi Edition), p. 438.

The following verse is said to have been inscribed by Daniyal on the favourite, fatal musket:—

'From the joy of the chase with thee, life is fresh and new;
To everyone whom thy dart strikes, 'tis the same as bier.'

[37] The Persian historians seek to represent Akbar's expedition as one of mere advice and exhortation. But the attendant circumstances, coupled with the clear testimony of the Jesuit writers, leave no doubt as to the martial character of the affair. In particular, it may be pointed out that Maryam Makani would never have opposed any peaceful attempt at 'the reformation of the prince.'

See Takmil Akbarnama (E. and D.), VI. 113.

Muhammad Hadi, pp. 14-15. Maasir-i-Jahangiri (Khuda Bakhsh MS.), p. 22 (b).

K. K., I. 228–30. De Laet (tr. Lethbridge, *Calcutta Review*, 1873, No CXIII. p. 199). Maclagan, p. 96.

Akbar was plunged into the deepest sorrow. The whole court went into mourning.[38] For the time being an expedition to Allahabad was out of the question, but happily it was no longer required. The show of military force had alarmed Salim; the death of Maryam Makani had lost him his most powerful intercessor; the progress of the conspiracy of Man Singh and Aziz Koka made his presence at Agra very desirable. The necessity of a reconciliation forced itself on him and determined him to avail himself of the opportunity presented by the recent domestic misfortune. He mourned the demise of his grandmother with ostentation and, no doubt, with sincerity. He gave out his intention of condoling with his father and apologizing for his faults in person. Leaving Allahabad in charge of Sharif, he set out with his son Parvez and some of his principal followers, and arrived at Agra on November 9, 1604. He was received in open court with all affection and honour. He presented 200 gold muhars, a diamond worth a lakh of rupees, and 400 elephants. But as soon as the court broke up, Akbar took him into the private apartments and severely reprimanded him. Wine and bad company had deranged his mind. He must be placed in confinement. He must be handed over to physicians. The threats were actually carried out. For full ten days the prince was imprisoned in a room and placed under the charge of Raja Shalivahan, a noted court physician, Arjun, a barber, and Rup Khawass, another servant. For a while he was deprived of opium and wine. His principal adherents were arrested, though Raja Basu, who had been left across the Jumna, contrived to escape.[39]

Salim seeks reconciliation.

Arrives at Agra, Nov. 9, 1604.

Received with honour.

Reprimanded.

Imprisoned.

Salim passed the ten days in disgrace and humiliation, but the influences that had protected him so far came once more to

38 The emperor and his courtiers shaved their heads and faces and helped to carry the bier many paces. Maryam Makani was buried beside her husband at Delhi.

Takmil Akbarnama (E. and D.), VI. 113.

39 Muhammad Hadi, pp. 15-16. Anfaul Akbar (E. and D.). VI. 247-8. Maasir-i-Jahangiri (Khuda Bakhsh MS.), p. 25 (b). K.K., I. 230. Takmil Akbarnama, Von Noer, Akbar II. 415-16. M. U. (Beveridge) I. 392-3.

rescue. His mother, step-mothers and sisters visited and consoled him and exerted all their powers on Akbar in his behalf. The prince was not only set at liberty, but raised to higher honours and dignities. At his request, his adherents also regained their freedom. Akbar studiously avoided hurt to his feelings, and treated him as if nothing had passed between them.[40]

Released.

The final reconciliation with Salim was a soothing balm to Akbar's lacerated heart, but there was no peace in store for him. He had passed the sixty-third year of a life of incessant physical and mental exertion. The blows of the last few years had told with fatal effect. The rapid decline of his health urged on the activities of the supporters of the rival candidates to the succession. The relations between Salim and Khusrau were strained to the point of scandal. An elephant-fight in September, 1605, resulted in a brawl in which both lost all sense of dignity and decorum and which shortened the days of Akbar.

Elephant-fights formed a popular, though cruel, amusement all through Mediæval India.[41] Akbar's rather diseased mind

The authorities differ as to the exact number of the days of Salim's confinement. De Laet gives two days, Du Jarric three, Muhammad Hadi, Inayatullah, and Kamghar, ten, and the Anfaul Akhbar, twelve. M. U. follows the last. The best authorities thus give ten days. De Laet (tr. Lethbridge, p. 199) says that Salim was received cordially in a public gallery, but as he prostrated himself, Akbar seized him by the hand, drew him into an inner apartment, slapped him several times on the face, and bitterly reproached him on his treason and on his cowardice in submiting when he could command at call the services of 70,000 horsemen. V. A. Smith (Akbar, p. 319) accepts this version because it appears to him in perfect harmony with Akbar's character. To the present writer, however, it seems entirely inconsistent with Akbar's general tenor of conduct.

The Maasir-i-Jahangiri says that Salim was deprived of opium and liquor for ten full days. But De Laet affirms that after twenty-four hours of confinement he received a supply of opium from Akbar's own hands.

40 Takmil Von Noer, Akbar, II. 415-16. K. K., I. 230. De Laet (tr. Lethbridge, 199-200).

Du Jarric says:—'He (Akbar) restored him to liberty and in addition gave him a house and rank in accordance with rank. Ultimately he behaved towards him as there had never been any strife between them.'

41 For elephant fights see the Embassy of Sir T. Roe (ed. Foster), 106, 112.

Peter Mundy, II. 127-28. Purchas, IV. 327, 439, 475. Bernier (ed. Constable), p. 277.

Tapanchá, as the practice of keeping an elephant in reserve was called, has been ascribed to Akbar's inventive genius (M. U., I. 570).

conceived the idea of drawing an omen from the sport. He arranged that on the bank of the Jumna, Salim's Giranbar should enter the lists against Khusrau's Apurva, with the Imperial Rantamhan in reserve to reinforce the vanquished side. A vast concourse of people assembled to witness the combat. All the noblemen of Agra came out in their best. Salim and Khusrau mounted on horseback, surrounded by their adherents. Akbar took his seat in the Jharokha window in the fort, with his favourite grandson, Khurram.

An elephant-fight, September 20, 1605.

Demolishing the mud wall between them, the two huge beasts rushed into conflict with a tremendous shock. After a series of hard blows on either side, Salim's Giranbar distinctly got the advantage. The reserve Rantamhan advanced to the rescue of Apurva, but Salim's partisans, heated to frenzy during combat, raised a cry 'No help, no help,' and abused, stoned, and wounded the driver. The courageous man, however, advanced to his duty, but Giranbar proved too much even for Rantamhan.

Khusrau rushed to the emperor's window and violently denounced the conduct of his father and his partisans, Akbar, who had noticed the blood trickle down the driver's face, sent a message through Khurram to Salim to restrain his followers, adding that all the elephants would soon be his. Salim replied on oath that far from encouraging the inordinate zeal of his friends, he had actually exerted himself to quell the disturbance. Khurram returned with the answer to his grandfather.

Quarrel between Salim and Khusrau.

Meanwhile all attempts to separate the furious beasts by means of fireworks failed. Apurva fled away, but Rantamhan was driven and pursued by Giranbar into the waters of the Jumna,, where the interposition of boats at last put an end to the onslaught.[42]

[42] Asad Beg, Wiqayah (E. and D.) VI. 168-69. He wrongly names Khusrau's elephant as Chanchal. Muhammad Hadi, pp. 16-17. K. K., I. 230-2. M. U. (Text), I. pp. 572-4. Beveridge, I. 183-4. Gladwin, XI-XII. Blochmann, 467.

The account given in the Maasir-i-Jahangiri and summarized by Gladwin differs in a few details.

The petulence and animosity displayed in public by Salim and Khusrau, and all that it foreboded for the future, sorely vexed Akbar's troubled spirits. A restless night was follwed by an attack of fever, which was soon complicated by diarrhœa. The royal physician, Hakim Ali Gilani,[43] abstained from medication for eight days, hoping that the patient's natural vigour would overcome the disorder. When the beauiful hope was falsified by the appearance of alarming symptoms, he administered potions which brought on strangury. Purgatives followed and reduced the patient to utter weakness. Nothing could alleviate the intense pain which racked his frame. Nothing could assuage the restlessness in which he passed his days and his nights. All efforts proving futile, the medical attendants gave up all hope.[44]

Akbar's fatal illness.

Round the death-bed raged a whirlwind of intrigue and treachery, plotting and counter-plotting, negotiation, and stratagem. The Khan Azam Aziz Koka acted as the viceregent of the empire, filled all the posts in the fort with his own followers, and plan-

A plot to arrest Salim.

43 Ali of Gilan had migrated to India from Central Asia early in Akbar's reign—a mere druggist. But his scientfic attainments and professional efficiency ensured him a rapid advance. In 1594 he constructed a chamber, the entrance to which lay through a reservoil (6 yards×6 yards), but which was untouched by water. In 1595 he received a mansab of 700 though it was hardly an index of the respect he enjoyed at the court. He effected many wonderful cures, and was justly renowned as one of the greatest physicians of the age. Posterity credited him with charitable distribution of medicines worth Rs. 60,000 a year. Doubtless he was financed by the emperor. For his life, M. U., I. 55—57. Beveridge, I. 180—4. Blochmann, 466-7. Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 68, 124, 152, 154, who pronounces an unfavourable judgement. 'He had greater diligence than understanding just as his appearance was better than his disposition, and his acquirements better than his talents; on the whole he was badhearted and of an evil spirit.'

44 Muhammad Hadi, p. 17. Asad Beg, Waqayah (E. and D.), VI. 169. Takmil Akbarnama (E. and D.), VI. 115. K. K., I. 232. M. U., I. 571. Beveridge, I. 182-3.

M. U. (I. 56) says that when the medicines for diarrhoea did him no good, Akbar grew violently angry with Hakim Ali, taunted him with his low obscure origin, his ingratitude, and his incapacity, and even beat him him with pointless arrows. Ali replied that his failure did not wholly arise from his fault. He exhibited the efficiency of his drugs by stilling a basinful of water with an ingredient. Akbar insisted on taking that very substance, with the result that he brought on strangury.

ned a *coup de main*. Salim, on his next visit to his father, was to be arrested and placed in confinement. But the plot was betrayed by Mir Zia-ul-mulk Qazwini just as the prince was on the point of disembarking from the boat at the foot of the tower.

Fails.

He returned to his lodging and refused to stir abroad, though neither he nor his wife could prevail on their son, Khurram, to withdraw himself from his loving grandfather's side.

The attempted *coup de main* prematurely disclosed the designs of Aziz Koka and Man Singh and forced them to act more openly and more audaciously. They called the nobles and officers together, and earnestly argued for the supersession of Salim by Khusrau. The character of the former prince was no secret to any one. It was well-known that Akbar entertained a very low opinion of him, and did not wish him to ascend the throne. They should all combine and place Khusrau on the throne.

Conference on the succession.

The opposition was led by Saiyad Khan Barha, a scion of an ancient illustrious Mughal family, connected with the Imperial House. The proposed supersession, he said, would be a flagrant violation of Chagatai law and custom. After a heated debate, he left the meeting together with Malik Khair and his other supporters. The Khan Azam was wild with rage, but was forced to suppress his feelings. The conference broke up.

The failure of the conference forms the decisive event in the long controevrsy. Man Singh and Aziz had never been able to obtain Akbar's consent to the supersession of Salim. Their failure to win the support of the majority of the magnates of the realm sealed the fate of their plot.[45] Salim's accession was secure, but the rumours that filled

Breaks up.

[45] Asad Beg, Wiqayah (E. and D.), VI. 169-79. Muhammad Hadi p. 18. K. K., I. 233-4. M. U. (Beveridge), I. 327.

Tod (Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Routledge, II. pp. 286-7) gives a distored version of the affair. Price's Jahangir (p. 33, Bangabasi Press, Calcutta Edition, p. 56), and De Laet (tr. Lethbridge, *Calcutta Review,* I-II, 1871, p. 77) state that Akbar nominated Khusrau to the throne, but the other historians do not support the view. Akbar was too wise to take such a step. M. U. and De Laet (tr. Lethbridge, 199-200) also say that Akbar counselled Salim to keep indoors after the attempted *coup de*

the air had seriously disconcerted him. He had been informed that Khusrau was already installed and that the big guns of the fort had been pointed against his residence. He lay in hourly danger of his life and must fly instantly. He made all preparations to escape by the Jumna to Allahabad, and was on the point of taking boat when Ruknuddin Rohilla pressed him to await the result of the all-important conference. At this juncture arrived Mirza Sharif with the news that the plot had been baffled, and that Murtaza Khan was on his way to join him at the head of the Sayyids of Barha.

Salim's peril.

This celebrated fraternity derived its name from the twelve villages which formed their ancestral home in the modern district of Muzaffarnagar. Religious zeal and martial valour constituted the badge of their tribe. It was their hereditary right to lead the van on the field of battle. The Khan Azam, no friend to them, admitted that they formed the shield of the empire from calamity. In the eighteenth century they were to make and unmake emperors, but even in the seventeenth they formed an important factor in Indian politics. As the price of their supoprt, they seem to have taken from Salim a promise to defend Islam.

The Sayyids of Barha.

As they joined the prince on the memorable day, they beat their drums in exultation, but he silenced the music on account of the emperor's critical condition. Before the day closed, Salim was joined by many of his erstwhile opponents. He readily promised to forgive and forget. all, and to exact no vengeance on the person or property of any one. Before long the Khan-i-Azam himself gave in his adhesion and was received with all honour and respect. Raja Man Singh, whose power rested primarily on his own Rajputs, held out longer, but he realized that his plans had hopelessly miscarried. He took Sultan Khusrau under his charge and prepared next day to take boat for Bengal.[46]

Failure of the conspiracy.

[46] Asad Beg, Wiqayah (E. and D.), VI. 170. K. K., I. 234, M. U. (Beveridge), I. p. 523.

Reassured on all sides, Salim proceeded on his last visit to Akbar. The emperor was gasping for life, but no sooner did Salim bow at his feet than he opened his eyes. He signed to his attendants to invest the prince with the turban and the robes and to gird him with his own dagger. They obeyed and paid their last homage by prostration. The emperor bowed and closed his eyes for ever.[47]

Death of Akbar, October 17, 1605.

Du Jarric (III. Ch. xvi, 138-9) alone mentions the oaths to defend Islam and forego revenge on the supporters of Khusrau. Jahangir's conduct on his accession lends support to Du Jarric's statements.

Price's Jahangir (pp. 70–76. Bangabasi edition, Calcutta, pp. 122-33) gives a very distorted but very readable account of Akbar's illness and the plot against Salim.

For the Sayyids of Barha, see Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 269. Blochmann, 390–3. Elliot and Beame's Glossary, I, pp. 11, 297.

For the life of Murtaza Khan, M. U. (Beveridge), I. 521-7.

47 Asad Beg, Wiqayah (E. and D.), VI. 170–2. Takmil Akbarnama E. and D.), VI. 115. Asad Beg's account is strikingly confirmed in almost every detail by Du Jarric (III. Ch. xiv. pp. 131-3).

Maasir-i-Jahangiri (Khuda Bakhsh MS), p. 29 (a). Gladwin p. xiii. K. K., I. 235.

Khulasat ut Tawarikh (Delhi edition), p. 439.

The Ilahi date of Akbar's death is 12 Jamad, II. 1014, which corresponds to October 17, 1605 Du Jarric (III. Ch. xvi. 132) says that the prince was suspected of having poisoned Akbar. Bartoli (quoted in V. A. Smith's Akbar, p. 326, 4) asserts that Akbar died of poison. But the circumstances immediately preceding the death leave little opportunity and little motive for Salim to hasten the termination of Akbar's life. Perhaps it was the perception of this fact that led to the invention of another story preserved by the Boondi records. Akbar, we are told, sought to poison Raja Man Singh, but himself swallowed by mistake the pills he had intended for his victim. The motive for the act was Man Singh's attempt to disturb the line of succession. (See Tod, I. 279 and II. 385). President Van den Broecke (De Laet, pp. 204, 213, V. A. Smith, Akbar, pp. 325-6) makes Mirza Ghazi of Thattah the victim of Akbar's intended treachery. See De laet (tr. Lethbridge, p. 200). The same groundless tale is given with slight variations by Terry (pp. 408-9), Herbert (p. 72), Peter Mundy (II. pp. 102-3), Talboys Wheeler, History of India, IV. I. 174, 188.

Suspicion of poisoning.

See also Irvine's note in Manucci, IV, p. 420 and Karkaria in J. Bomb. B. R. A. S. XXII. 197–208.

Price's Jahangir (75-76) gives the following inaccurate version which has misled many writers:—

'At this crisis of anxious suspense (suspense in the Text), my father sent me one of his dresses, with the turban taken from his own brows, and a message, importing that if I were reconciled to live without beholding the countenance of my father, that father, when I was absent, enjoyed neither peace nor repose. The moment I received the message, I clothed

Next day the body was arrayed in State and conducted with all pomp and ceremony to Sikandara six miles off. Salim bore the foot of the bier on his shoulder for some paces. The high nobles paid the same honour to the great dead for a longer distance. All the dignitaries and courtiers, servants and troops, marched uncovered and bare-

His funeral.

myself in the dress, and in humble duty proceeded into the castle. On Tuesday, the eighth of the month, my father drew his death with great difficulty; and his dissolution being evidently at hand, he desired that I would despatch some one to summon every Amir without exception to his presence; "for I cannot endure," said he, "that any misunderstanding should subsist between you and those who for so many years have shared in my toil and been the associates of glory." Anxious to comply with his desire I directed Khaujah Weissy to bring the whole of them to the dying monarch's sick chamber...........

'My father after wistfully regarding them all round, entreated that they would bury in oblivion all the errors of which he could be justly accused and proceeded to address them in the following terms arranged in couplets:—

Remember the repose and safety which blessed my reign,
The splendour and order which adorned my court, O remember,
Remember the crisis of my repentance, of my oft-revolving beads.
The canopy which I prepared for the sanctuary of the Kaabah—
(Here follow a few more lines).

'Here I perceived that it might indeed be this mighty monarch's latest breath, and that the moment was arrived for discharging the mournful duties of a son. In tears of anguish I approached his couch, and sobbing aloud, I placed my head at my father's feet. After I had then passed in solemn sorrow thrice round him, the dying monarch, as a sign auspicious to my fortune, beckoned me to take his scimitar Fath-ul-mulk and in his presence to gird it round my waist. Having so done, and again prostrated myself at his feet, I renewed my protestations of duty........

'He had....desired me to send for Miran Sadr Jahan in order to repeat with him the Kalma shahadat, which he said it was his wish to postpone to the last moment, still cherishing the hope that the Almighty Disposer of Life might yet bestow some prolongation. On his arrival I placed Sadr Jahan on both knees by my father's side and he commenced reciting the creed of the faithful. At this crisis my father desiring me to draw near, threw his arms about my neck, and addressed me in the following terms:—

'My dear boy (baba), take this last farewell....Beware that thou does not withdraw thy protecting regards from the secluded in my harem....Although my departure must cast a heavy burden upon thy mind, let not the words that are past be at once forgotten. Many a vow and many a convenant have been exchanged between us—break not the pledge which thou hast given me—forget it not. Beware!....My servants and dependents, when am gone, do not thou forget, nor the afflicted in the hour of need....'

'After expressing himself as above, he directed Sadr Jahan once more to repeat the Kalma, and he recited the solemn text himself with a voice equally loud and distinct. He then desired the Sadr to continue repeat-

foot.[48] The corpse was deposited in the tomb which Akbar, after the Mughal fashion, had begun to build during his life-time. His son took the keenest interest in its further progress and once altered the whole plan. More than three thousand workers completed the mausoleum in 1613 at the cost of a million and a half rupees.[49] It was in the fitness of things that the design of the building should be borrowed from Hindu models. The structure still remains, unique in the entire range of Indian architecture.[50] It has always been an object of love and veneration to high and low alike, though it was rudely desecrated by the Jat rebels in 1691.[51]

His tomb at Sikandara.

It is worth while to quote the animated and readable descrpition of the building by Bishop Heber as he saw it in January, 1825. 'It stands in a square area of about forty English acres enclosed by an embattled wall (24′ high) with octagonal towers at the angles

Described by Bishop Heber.

ing by his pillow the Sura Neish and another chapter of the Koran, together with the Adeilah prayer, in order that he might be enabled to render up his soul with as little struggle as possible. Accordingly, the Sadr Jahan had finished the Sura Neish and had the last words of the prayer on his lips, when, with no other symptom than a tear drop in the corner of his eye, my noble father resigned his soul into the hands of his Creator.'

There was, indeed, a persistent tradition that Akbar died a Muhammadan. 'And so he died in the formal profession of his sect,' says Sir T. Roe (The Embassy, ed. Foster, p. 312).

'At the last died as he was born, a Muhammadan,' Father Antony Botelho in Maclagan, p. 107.

But one is justified in inferring from Asad Beg that he died, not prossing Islam but as he had lived.

48 Asad Beg, Wiqayah (E. and D.), VI. 172.

Takmil Akbarnama (E. and D.), VI. 115.

Du Jarric (III. p. 137) says that the funeral was attended by few persons.

49 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 152.

The Hawkins' Voyages, p. 442. Purchas, III. 51.

William Finch (Purchas, IV. 75–77), gives a fine description of the half-finished edifice in 1611.

50 E. W. Smith, Tomb of Akbar, p. 7.

Fergusson, II. 300-1. E. B. Havell (Indian Architecture, p. 176). V. A. Smith (History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon, p. 411).

51 Manucci (ed. Irvine), I. 159, II. 230. Also note which quotes Ishar Das Nagar's Fatuhat-i-Alamgiri. I cannot believe, on Manucci's testimony, that Akbar's bones were disinterred and burned by the Jats.

surmounted by open pavilions and four very noble gateways of red granite, the principal of which is inlaid with white marble and has four high marble minarets. The space within is planted with trees and divided into green alleys, leading to the central building, which is a sort of solid pyramid surrounded externally with cloisters, galleries, and domes, diminishing gradually on ascending it, till it ends in a square platform of white marble, surrounded by most elaborate lattice work of the same material, in the centre of which is a small altar tomb, also of white marble, carved with a delicacy and beauty which do full justice to the material and to the graceful forms of Arabic characters which form its chief ornament. At the bottom of the building, in a small but very lofty vault, is the real tomb of this great monarch, plain and unadorned, but also of white marble. There are many other ruins in the vicinity, some of them apparently handsome, but Akbar's tomb leaves a stranger little time or inclination to look at anything else.'[52]

[52] Heber's Journey, Vol. II. 336-7.

For a full and accurate description of all the parts of the building and their illustrations, and originals and translations of the inscription, see E. W. Smith's Tomb of Akbar, forming Vol. XXXV, of the Archaeological Survey of India, published by the Government Press, United Provinces, Allahabad. 1909.

Also Abdul Latif's Agra, pp. 167–182.

Fergusson, II. 298–302. Havell's Indian Architecture, p. 176. Havell's Agra and the Taj, p. 1904.

Murray's Handbook for Bengal and North-West Provinces, pp. 295–97.

Keene's Handbook Guide to Agra, pp. 43–8.

The building also contains the tombs of Shukrunnisa Begam and Aram Banu Begam, two daughters of Akbar, born of Bibi Daulat Shad (See Jahangir, R. and B., I. pp. 36-7), also of Sulaiman Shukoh, son of the titular emperor, Muhammad Shah Alam, and of his wife. Another tomb is said to be that of Zaibunnisa Begam, daughter of Aurangzeb.

CHAPTER IV

MUGHAL GOVERNMENT

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE REIGN OF JAHANGIR

The Mughal Empire in 1605.

THE empire which Akbar bequeathed to his son ranked, in point of extent, population, and administrative organization, among the foremost in the world. Akbar's accession to the throne in 1556 had found North India divided into a large number of principalities and chiefships. By the close of his reign, nearly all of them had been incorporated into his empire. Among others the rich maritime region of Gujerat had been conquered in 1572-3; the fertile Bengal in 1576—80; the cool, beautiful vale of Kashmir in 1586; the warm sandy Sindh in 1591; the desolate southern Baluchistan in 1595. On the death of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, Kabul had passed peacefully to the Mughal empire in 1585. Next year, the intervening troublesome tribes were partially subdued. In 1595 Qandahar was voluntarily surrendered by its disaffected and embarrassed Persian governor. Towards the south, Khandesh, Berar, and part of Ahmednagar were annexed during the last years of the reign.[1] Nearly the whole country from the eastern confines of Persia to the western bounds of modern Assam and Burma and from the Himalayas to a line between the Mahananda and the Godavari acknowledged the sway of one emperor.

[1] For Gujerat, Nizamuddin (E. and D.), V. 339—356.
Bird, History of Gujerat (pp. 301—348). A. N. (Beveridge), III. 87.
Ferishta (Briggs), II. 235, *et seq.* and IV. 15 *et seq.*
Badauni (Lowe), II. 169—173. Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 40—45.
For Bengal, A. N. (Beveridge), III. 180. Nizamuddin (E. and D.). V. 368.
Badauni (Lowe), II. 244-5.
For Kashmir, A. N. (Beveridge), III. 725—37.
Nizamuddin (E. and D.), V. 452—4. Badauni (Lowe), 364—6.
For the frontier tribes, A. N. III. Chs. lxxxix-vi, lxxxix, xci. Nizamuddin (E. and D.), V. 451-2.
Badauni (Lowe), II. 361-2. Raverty, Notes on Afghanistan, 259—65.
For Sindh, A. N. (Beveridge), III. Ch. cviii. pp. 922—32. Tarikh-i-Masumi (E. and D.), I. 247—52. Raverty, p. 601.
For Southern Baluchistan, Raverty, p. 583.
For Qandahar, Raverty, p. 600.
For the southern conquests, see Ch. xi. *et seq.*

Population.

It is impossible to compute the population of the empire with any degree of precision. But a comparison of the density of cultivation in the days of the Ain-i-Akbari with its present degree, and an attentive study of the contemporary European records, combine to suggest that North and Central India, including Afghanistan, contained something between 90 and 100 millions of souls.[2]

The scope of the present chapter.

'No presentation of history' says G. P. Gooch 'can be adequate which neglects the growths of the religious consciousness, of literature, of the moral and physical science, of art, of scholarship, of social life.' An inquiry into these aspects of life, from which, as Acton held, history derives its best virtue, will form the subject of later volumes. But, for the sake of the subsequent narrative, it is essential here to discuss, as briefly as possible, the spirit and form of the governmental organization under which our ancestors lived three hundred years ago. A discussion, based on scanty and dispersed materials, is bound to be perfunctory, but the rays of light radiating from the Ain-i-Akbari, Persian chronicles, foreign accounts, and vernacular literatures may be focussed so as to suffic, with the help of that imagination which, as Mommsen has said, is the author of all history as of all poetry, to present a clear view of the fundamental principles and institutions of the Mughal State. Again, it is possible to compare some features of the Mughal Empire with those of other vast Country-States, such as the Roman Empire, the Frankish Empire, the British Empire.

The Determining Factors in Indian Political Organization.

The spirit and form of every polity are determined, in general, by the geographical and economic, social and intellectual environments. The vastness of the Indian plains determined, once for all, that society should organize itself not on the pattern of the classical City-State but on that of a Country-

[2] W. H. Moreland (India at the death of Akbar, 9—22) gives a much lower estimate—something about fifty millions, excluding Afghanistan. For a criticism of his estimate, see my article, 'India in 1605,' in the *Modern Review*, January, 1921, p. 16.

State. The predominantly agricultural character of the country determined that the village should form the unit of society. The two together determined that, until science annihilated distance, the people should not develop that intensity of life, that eager civic spirit, that keen political aptitude which brought democratic government into being in ancient Greece and modern Europe. The ancient and mediæval Indian polity could, in the plains, assume only an aristocratic or monarchial form. A variety of influences concurred to decide that the latter should be the rule, the former the exception. An aristocracy generally rests on the combination of superior birth with wealth, education, fighting capacity or political experience. The Hindu caste system served to distribute these advantages so as to leave absolute predominance to no single class. The poorest and most ignorant Brahman thought himself better born than the proudest baron and the most opulent merchant-prince. His community, as a whole, easily surpassed the rest of society in intellectual strength. The Vaishya weilded the influence which wealth and commercial experience seldom fail to confer. The warlike Kshattriya enjoyed the advantages of superior vigour and political experience, but could not ride roughshod over those on whom he depended for intellectual guidance and financial support. His community, moreover, was much too numerous and much too dispersed to form a working aristocracy or oligarchy. Among the Muhammadans, the strong democratic feeling could not brook a class-ascendancy. Another influence working for the monarchy was the prevalence of war, which demands concentration of power for its efficient conduct. From one point of the view, the whole of Indian history may be regarded as a conflict between the centrifugal and the centripetal forces. The fundamental geographical and cultural unity of the country prompted every State to expand itself over the whole of India. But the difficulty of communications—the central difficulty of all mediæval Governments—checked the process and tempted the outlying provinces of every vast empire to cut themselves adrift from the main body. The result was two-fold: a multi-

The Prevalence and Nature of the Monarchy.

plicity of principalities, and constant rivalry and frequent war among them. The presence or menace of danger, as usual, disposed the Government to assume a pronounced monarchical form and the people to acquiesce in strong administration. Thus it was that, with a few exceptions which admit of easy explanation from the operation of extraordinary causes, Indian society in the plains organized itself, as far as central organization was needed at all, round the monarch. From the very nature of the case, therefore, the Mughal Government was an absolute monarchy, but it is childish to dismiss it as a mere arbitrary 'oriental despotism' which requires no further analysis. There are, as Aristotle perceived, several varieties of monarchy. A perfect absolutism, capable of ruling or misruling everything under it, is a monstrosity unknown to nature and sober philosophy. Not even the most robust or the most gifted individual can impose his will on any large number of men for any length of time without their, at least, partial willingness. He must base his power on the willing consent of some powerful group. Stuart Mill lays down that Government either rests in, or is passing into, the hands of the srongest section of soceity, and the dictum is as true of monarchy, even of 'oriental despotism,' as of aristocracy or democracy. The first step in the study of a Government is to discover the sections of society who support it, who can effectually resist it—for support implies the capacity of resistance—, whose good will it has to conciliate, and to whose standard of duty, efficiency, and humanity it has to conform in its conduct.

No 'Mughal Caste'.

The term Mughal dynasty or Mughal administration suggests the idea of a Mughal caste and so far it is complete misnomer. For the present purpose, indeed, it is immaterial that the term Chagatai Turk is a more correct designation, for it is equally suggestive of class. As a matter of fact, there was no ruling caste in seventeenth century India, no one caste to which the monarch belonged or on which he primarily relied for support. The contemporary observers were bewildered by the term Mughal, and were led to assign fanciful meanings to it.

Salbancke, an East India factor who resided for many years in the country during Jahangir's reign, says that the term included Persians, Turks, and Tartars. 'Yea, very often they call Christians Mughals also.' He as well as Sir Thomas Roe, says that the term meant 'circumcised,'[3] that is, it was applicable to all Muhammadans. Bernier remarks that it was enough to have a white complexion and to profess Islam to be called a Mughal.[4] Boullayele Gouz and John Fryer simply give 'white' as the signification of the term.

The dark Mughal clouds that overcast the north-west frontier during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries had familiarized the people with the word. During the subsequent centuries it was loosely applied to those who came from the north-west with Babar in 1526. Babar himself was half a Chagatai and half a Mughal. Humayun was born of a Chagatai mother, but Akbar was half a Persian; Jahangir half a Rajput, and Shah Jehan more of a Rajput than of a Turk. The Mughal officers belonged to various nationalities and to no one predominantly —Turk, Tartar, Persian, Afghan, Indian Muslim, Hindus of all castes.[5]

Character of the Nobility.

The fundamental fact about this composite nobility is its purely official character. The element of heredity is conspicuous by its absence. Neither the offices nor the titles descended from father to son. Even the bulk of the property of a nobleman escheated to the State on his death. His children were left with just enough for a fair start in life. For the rest they swam or sank according to their genius and diligence. An aristocracy is, above all else, the work of time, and the system of escheat left it no time to develop. The European observers, accustomed to the idea of an hereditary nobility, dilate on the injustice of escheat, and

3 Letters received by the East India Company from its servants in the East, VI. 183–5. The Embassy of Sir T. Roe (ed. Foster, p. 312).

4 Bernier, Travels, ed. Constable, p. 3.

5 See the Maasir-ul-umara, the invaluable dictionary of Mughal grandees which Shah Nawaz Khan or Samsamuddaulah compiled from contemporary records in the eighteenth century.

Jahangir gives short biographical notices of many of his officers in the Memoirs.

Bernier goes so far as to ascribe the supposed decline of the country to it. As a matter of fact, the ruthless operation of the rule saved the country from the curse of such a powerful, selfish nobility as reduced Poland to anarchy and ruin or such as fattened on the poor people of France in the eighteenth century. If it encouraged luxury and ostentation, it diminished the motives of financial extortion. It served to restore to the public exchequer a part of the vast sums that were disbursed in salaries.[6] A further precaution against the growth of an overmighty aristocratic caste was taken when, as in the Roman Empire, the grandees were prohibited from contracting marriage alliances without the Emperor's permission.

Absence of the Zamindari System.

Over the greater part of the Mughal Empire the modern Zamindary system did not obtain. The only hereditary magnates in the empire were the protected Hindu chiefs in Rajputana, in the hills, and in out-of-the-way tracts.

The Mughal State not based on force.

It was not on caste, then, that the Mughal Empire primarily rested. The word empire suggests the idea of force. It may, indeed, be admitted at once that every State rests partly on force. But firstly, force implies the willing instrumentality of an army drawn from a caste or from the people at large. Secondly, force can form only one of the supports of a State—never the sole or the chief support. One can do everything with bayonets except sit on them.

It was a physical impossibility that an enormous population scattered over a vast country in a million villages and towns should be ruled primarily by force for any length of time. Moreover, in all mediæval studies it is to be constantly borne in mind

6 Speaking of the nobles' huge income, Sir T. Roe says, 'As they die and must needs gather, so it returneth to the king like rivers to the sea.... (He) leaves the widows and children their horses, stuff and some other stock and then puts them into a signiory and so sets them to begin the world anew.' Embassy, 110-11. See also Salbancke (Letters received, VI. 187). The Hawkins' Voyages, pp. 424-5. Manucci (ed. Irvine), I. p. 205. See also Bernier. W. H. Moreland (India at the death of Akbar) falls into the mistake of supposing that the effects of merchants also escheated to the State.

that the disparity between a State army and an armed rabble was far less in those days than it is now. Force would provoke force and the State might soon be in serious danger. Macaulay has well expressed the idea in a passage which *mutatis mutandis,* is as applicable to Indian as to English history and which has only gathered emphasis from the lapse of time. 'It is difficult,' he writes 'for an Englishman of the nineteenth century to imagine to himself the facility and rapidity with which four hundred years ago this check (of physical force) was applied. The people have long unlearned the use of arms. The art of war has been carried to a perfection unknown to former ages; and the knowledge of that art is confined to a particular class. A hundred thousand soldiers, well disciplined and commanded, will keep down ten millions of ploughmen and artisans. A few regiments of household troops are sufficient to overawe all the discontented spirits of a large capital. (In the modern state of society) resistance might be regarded as a cure more desperate than almost any remedy which can afflict the State. In the middle ages, on the contrary resistance was an ordinary remedy for political distempers, a remedy which was always at hand and which, though doubtless sharp at the moment, produced no deep or lasting ill effects. If a popular chief raised his standard in a popular cause, an irregular army could be assembled in a day. Regular army there was none. Every man had a slight tincture of soldiership and scarcely any man more than a slight tincture.' Difficult as it is to-day, it was much more difficult then, to hold down a population by sheer military force. In order to last for more than a century and a half, the Mughal empire must have had a more solid basis.[7]

That basis, however, is not to be sought in religion. It is true that the Semitic conception of the State is that of a theocracy

The Mughal State not a Theocracy.

The Mosaic system views the kingship as a mere lieutenancy of God, as bound by the laws which He has revealed. Islam enjoins

[7] On the moral basis of the State, see T. H. Green's lectures on 'The Principles of Political Obligation, pp. 121—141. Also Bosanquet's Philosophical Theory of the State.

the Caliph or the commander of the faithful—the Indian Mughals themselves assumed the authority of the Caliphate—to rule according to the Quran. The Ulama, the learned theologians and lawyers who, in spite of Islam, formed an Islamic priesthood, claimed the right of Interpreting the Quran and, therefore, of guiding the policy of the State. In India, the Islamic State was glad to ally itself with the church during its days of weakness. As in Europe so in India, the church stood like a governess, like a monitor, to the State. But as the latter attained its majority, the governess was told to go. She refused to be deprived of the authority to which she had been accustomed so long, and a bitter conflict was the result. The long series of struggles between the Holy Roman Empire and the Papacy, between the English Plantagenets and the Archbishops of Canterbury, and between the French Kings and the Popes, constitute one of the most fascinating chapters in mediæval European history. A counterpart is not wanting in Indian annals. It is a remarkable coincidence that while Frederick II, a strikingly modern sovereign in a mediæval age, was locked in a death-grapple with Innocent III and Honorius, Alauddin Khilji, in many respect a curiously modern ruler in the darkest period of Indian history, was engaged in war with the Islamic hierarchy. The struggle of Philip IV of France against the Papacy nearly coincides in time with that of Muhammad Tughlak against the Ulama. By the sixteenth century, the state in India, as in Europe, is well-nigh emancipated from ecclesiastical control. Here, as there, a Renaissance and a Reformation, similar in some respects though different in others, had a large share in the emancipation. Akbar in India, like his contemporary Elizabeth in England, completed the process in the latter half of the sixteenth century. Akbar's was the more difficult task, but the blows he dealt in quick succession told with fatal effect. The priest-hood were forced down to their natural place in society. The State could afford their guidance no longer; they had forfeited much of their influence with the people; as they refused to march with the times, their narrow, bigoted, and reactionary policy would inevitably bring

The Struggle between the Church and the State in Europe and in India.

on their allies the hostility of powerful sections of the populace. In India, in particular, a fanatical Muslim sacerdotal order would exasperate the teeming millions of Hindus, and shake the state to its very foundations. In the last quarter of the seventeenth century, Aurangzeb tried the experiment, and soon found himself and his empire in deep waters. Jahangir had the wisdom and the statesmanship to adhere closely to the policy so clearly enunciated by his father.

The willing acquiescence of the people at large.

It is thus neither in religion, nor in force, nor in caste that we can find the basis of seventeenth century Mughal rule. That is to be sought in the active or passive acquiescence of the people at large. Despotism can of course, never appear in a democratic form, but so far as it represents the popular will, it may possess the essence of the democratic principle. Such was the despotism of Pisistatus in Athens; of Augustus in Rome; of Charlemagne in Germany. The Norman Angevin despotism in mediæval England was based on an informal alliance of the monarchy with the people against the turbulent, rapacious feudal baronage. Prothero has emphasized that the Tudor monarchy was essentially a national monarchy. Theirs has painted, in colours of matchless brilliance, the enthusiasm with which the French nation threw itself into the arms of Napoleon Bonaparte in 1799. If we resolutely refuse to be deceived by appearances, we shall perceive that the principles of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy are independent of Governmental form, that they can be found at work in institutions of any class, and that, more often than not, they are found mixed together. The Mughal empire knew nothing of elective assemblies and constitutional rights, but it had this much of the democratic element in it that its general policy was in accord with the wishes and sentiments of the people.

Condition of the Popular Acquiescence. Religious Freedom.

One of the implicit conditions of popular compliance with any Government in India is sure to be freedom of religious belief and worship. The Muslim invaders soon realized the importance of religious toleration and shaped their policy accordingly.

Muhammad bin Qasim's administration of Sindh in the eighth century was a shining example of moderation and tolerance. The conquerors of north India in the thirteenth century tried a different policy and found it hopeless. By the fifteenth century, the age of systematic persecution was past. During the sixeenth and seventeenth centuries, India, as a whole, presented a sharp contrast to contemporary Europe in point of religious freedom. Akbar, to whom the whole credit for toleration has been wrongly ascribed, really only embodied the spirit of the age. He carried the policy to its logical conclusions, but the policy itself was the outcome of sheer necessity; it was the *sine quâ non* of the very existence of the Government. Even Aurangzeb refrained from its complete subversion. The European travellers who visited India during the reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan, bear eloquent testimony to the perfect religious toleration in the country as a whole.[8]

Another implicit condition of the popular support of Mughal rule was freedom of social life. No Government could have lasted twenty-four hours if it had sought to subvert the social customs and manners of the people. Reform could come, and partially it did come, from within, but Governmental interference could not be brooked. Akbar sought to abolish the barbarous practice of widow-burning and the equally barbarous custom of compulsory widowhood, and to discourage child-marriage and poly-

Social Freedom.

[8] 'All religions' says the Rev. Edward Terry, 'are tolerated and their priests in good esteem. Myself often received from the Mughal himself the appellation of Father......' Purchas. ix. 52.

'He (Jahangir) is content with all religions,' says Roe, 'only he loves none that changes.' Embassy, p. 314.

Della Valle noticed that Hindus and Muslims 'live all mixt together and peaceably, because the Grand Mughal........although he be a Muhammadan (but not a pure one as they report) makes no difference in his dominions between the one sort and the other, and both in his court and armies and even amongst men of the highest degree, they are of equal account and consideration.' Travels I. 30. For the amusing case of Della Valle's Persian servant who, ignorant of Mughal policy, hastened to change his creed, see Travels I. 120–9.

Jahangir himself recognizes the value of his father's religious policy in his Memoirs.

gamy,[9] but he never enforced his ordinances, wise and humane as they were, at the point of the sword. Jahangir sternly forbade a new and horrible form of Sati prevalent among some Muslim converts from Hinduism, who buried their widows with their husbands,[10] but he had to content himself with mere discouragement of the time-honoured Hindu Sati.[11] Hindu feelings, even irrational feelings of caste, were uniformly respected. No attempt was made to promote intermarriage between Hindus and Muslims. Jahangir forbade such intermarriage, already prevalent amongst some hillmen,[12] to the satisfaction, doubtless, of both Hindus and Muslims.

Respect for Village Autonomy.

A third implicit condition of popular loyalty to the Mughal throne was respect for the immemorial village autonomy which formed the central feature of Indian social and economic organization down to the eighteenth century. The village panchayat, consisting of five persons, as the term implies, or, of more, as was generally the case, continued to keep a vigilant eye on breaches of time-honoured custom, to secure order and mutual co-operation, to settle petty disputes. In days when the arm of the State was not so long as it is to-day, when the big hereditary landholders did not exist, the village organization was a real force in the body-politic.

Scope of State Activity.

The abstinence of the State from religious and social life and from village life generally implies a serious restriction of the scope of activity. Under the circumstances, however, that was inevitable. Man is a political animal, as Aristotle said. Society or the State is no artificial product, as Burke emphasized. The individual must be a member of the State in order to realize himself, in order to fulfil his destiny, but he is not prepared for unconditional surrender to any one. As a rule, no Government, unless

9 Badauni (Lowe), II. 367.
10 Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 181.
11 For later Sati, see Peter Mundy II. 34, 36, 179-180.
Tavernier (ed. Ball). I. 219; II. pp. 207–224.
Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, III. p. 104.
12 Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 181.

it be a direct or representative democracy, dare touch the popular religion or social organization. It must leave society itself to legislate through custom in those spheres.

Functions of the Mughal State; Constituent and Ministrant.

Nevertheless, the Mughal Government had an ample field for its operation. It had to guard the country from external danger and to regulate the foreign policy; it had to maintain order and provide for protection of life and property; it had to define and punish crime; it had to determine and enforce contract rights between individuals. Besides these constituent functions, it undertook some ministrant duties; it fixed the coinage; it regulated trade and industry; it maintained thoroughfares; it established some hospitals; it extended profuse encouragement to art and learning. On his accession Jahangir forbade the levy of cesses and tolls which the Jagirdars had imposed for their private gain.[13] He ordained that the bales of merchants were not to be opened on the roads, as was sometimes done, probably for purposes of octroi, without their permission.[14] He commanded the erection of rest-houses and mosques, schools and hospitals, and the appointment of physicians in all the great cities at the expense of the State.[15] If no heirs could be discovered to the property of deceased private persons, the effects were to be applied to the erection of schools and inns, the construction of tanks and wells, and the repair of bridges.[16] Later he erected small walls on the wayside for the convenience of porters after the fashion in Gujerat.[17] He interdicted alcohol and tobacco, and promulgated an edict for the abolition of the horrible practice of making eunuchs in East Bengal. Aurangzeb,

[13] Jahangir (R. and B.) I. 7. This forms Regulation No. 1 of the Dastur-ul-amal, or the twelve 'Rules of Conduct' which the emperor promulgated on his accession.

[14] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 8, Regulation No. 3.

[15] Mirati Ahmadi by Ali Muhammad Khan, I. 209. K. K., I. 249.
Jahangir (R. and B.), I, 8, 9, Regulation Nos. 2 and 10.
Tarikh-i-Jan Jahan by Jan Jahan Khan, Asiatic Society Bengal MSS. quoted by N. N. Law in his Promotion of Learning during Muhammadan Times. p. 175.

[16] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 8, Regulation No. 4.

[17] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 420. The order for these erections was issued in 1618.

in the latter half of the seventeeth century, undertook a systematic moral reform. The Censor of Public Morals was provided with a large staff of mansabdars and ahadis. The provincial governors were commanded, on pain of imperial displeasure, to assist in the great task. All through the reign farmans poured forth to urge the enforcement of canonical rules about amr and nihi—things to be done and things to be avoided. Besides, old mosques and monasteries were repaired. Scholarships were founded for students, on that "they might engage in the study of theology with composure of mind."

Music and other entertainments at the court were interdicted. When the musicians organised a funeral of music, they were calmly told to bury her deep. The cultivation of bhang or hemp was forbidden. Public women and dancing girls were commanded by Aurangzeb to marry or to leave the realm. Sati was severely forbidden once again. Muharram processions were banned. No more obscene songs were to be sung at the Hindu festival of holi.[18]

The ordinances, it is true, were not always strictly carried out; the explanation, however, lies not in the motives of the Government but in the inherent difficulties of intercourse. All the same, they bear eloquent testimony to the character of the Government. It is, however, in its relation to art and literature, that the beneficent character of the Government comes out to the best advantage. The Persian chnoniclers have preserved long lists of the literati whom the generosity of the Mughal court raised above want, even to affluence.[19] As one runs over the biographies of contemporary Persian and Hindi poets, one is struck by the large number of those who sought and obtained

[18] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 8, Regulation No. 5. Also I. pp. 370—I. II. pp. 150, 151, 168. But see Terry (p. 96) and Fryer (p. 52) on smoking. Letters Received, I. p. 300. Bowrey, p. 97. For the introduction of tobacco, Asad Beg (E. and D.), VI. 165—67. Manucci, ed. Irvine II. 5—9, 97. Sarkar, Aurangzeb III. 102-3.

[19] For example, Ain-i-Akbari for the reign of Akbar and Abdul Hamid Lahori for that of Shah Jahan. Iqbalnama, 30C, Muhmmad Hadi, p. 20, Jahangir (R. and B.) I. 46. II. 345, 257, etc., for the reign of Jahangir.

the patronage of the court.[20] In those days no Government in the world had a regular department of pulbic instruction; the Mughals sought to supply its place by wide patronage of literary merit. Jahangir's keen interest and efforts raised Indian painting to its high water-mark. Roe and Terry were struck with wonder and amazement at the skill of the court painters.[21] The picture galleries at Lahore representing the Imperial family and baronage would have ranked among the finest in the world.[22] Calligraphy was cultivated as a fine art.[23] Music was enriched.

The Mughal State—A Culture.

It is evident that the Mughal State had risen from the level of a *Law State*, or *Police State*, to the rank of a Culture State.

Such were the ideals and activities of the Mughal Government in the seventeenth century. It was not what Sir John Seelay would have called an inorganic *quasi State*. Its governmental organization deserves the closest study in the light of the methods of comparative politics, and may best be viewed under a two fold aspect—central and local.

Governmental Organization.

The centre of the circle was of course, the monarchy. There was no scope for a constitution in the modern sense. But not even the most gifted man, not even a Julius Caesar or a Napoleon, can handle the multitudinous problems of a large empire without the collaboration of other minds. A veteran statesman, versed in

The Emperor, the Council.

20 Misra Bandhu Vinoba by the Misra Brothers, Vols. I. and II. Shiva Singh Saroja, Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow. Reports on the Research for Hindi MSS., Kashi Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Benaras. Beni Prasad, A few Aspects of Education and Literature under the Great Mughals, in the Proceedings of the Fifth Meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission, pp.

It is said that Jahangir commanded the collection and edition of the poems of Surdas and offered a gold mohr for each hymn that came in—a fact which is held to explain the enormous bulk of Sursagar. The tradition is most probably false but it is significant.

21 Sir T. Roe found it difficult to distinguish his original painting from the copies made by a court artist. Jahangir permitted him to take any of the copies 'to show in England we are not so unskilful as you esteem us.' Embassy, 210-11. Terry, p. 135.

See also Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, J.R.A.S., 1910, pp. 874–81.

22 For their description, William Finch (Purchas, IV. 53–55).

23 Superb specimens are preserved in the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Bankipore, and with numerous private gentlemen in North India.

business, remarked that he had known no proposal which consultation even with inferior brains had not improved. Government, the most difficult of all practical arts, pre-eminently demands the mutual aid of several minds. Every despotism is bound to be a Government by council. The relative influence of the monarch and the councillors will be determined, more than anything else, by the personal equation. But a council is an inseparable accident of an autocracy. The ancient Hindu king had his cabinet of about eight which the Maratha statesman Shivaji revived at the close of the seventeenth century. The Roman emperor had his body of advisors. The Norman-Angevin despotism worked through the Curia Regis. The Tudor despotism has been called the golden period of the Privy Council. Napoleon had his Council of State which sat in constant session. The Hohenzollerns had their Staatsrath which was founded by Joachim Friedrick as early as 1604; as Woodrow Wilson remarks, it bore a general family resemblance to the English Privy Council: Stein sought to reorganize it in the beginning of the nineteenth century. *A priori* considerations concur with positive historical testimony to show that the Mughal emperor had a nominated council which sat frequently and which deliberated on all matters of importance. It consisted of the principal officers and those specially summoned and was called the *Diwan-i-khas.* The room in which it met acquired the name of Ghusulkhana or bathroom, because Sher Shah had summoned his ministers to him while drying his long locks of hair in his bath. The minutes of its sessions have perished, but the incidental notices in the Persian chronicles and the European itineraries enable one to form an idea of its working. The emperor presided, every councillor expressed his opinion in turn on every proposal that was put forward. Here foreign affairs were discussed, foreign ambassadors were interviewed, expeditions were planned, commanders were nominated. Here the offences of high personages were considered and referred to committees or immediately decided on.[24]

24 Sir T. Roe, Embassy, 106—8, 110, 112, M. U. (Beveridge), I. p. 3. Blochmann, J. A. S. B., Vol. XLIV. Pt. I. p. 297.
Monserrate, (Hoyland and Banerjee), 203-4.

The Principal Officers.

The Vakil.

The highest officer was the Vakil, the Vicegerent, Chancellor or Prime Minister of the Empire, who may be compared to the Grand Vizier of Turkey, to the chancellor of the German Empire, or to the Justiciar of the early Norman Kings. The personal equation determined the exact amount of authority that he wielded but like the Vizier of the Abbasaid Caliphate, he was sometimes the alter ego of the emperor. Sometimes the premiership remained vacant or was put into commission.

Diwan.

Next came the Diwan or Chancellor of the Exchequer who presided over the fiscal administration. The office derived its name from the governmental machinery of the Caliphate and as, under the Abbasids, was occasionally, put into commission.

Bakhshi.

The Bakhshi performed a multitude of military duties and may best be summed up as secretary for war and paymaster-general rolled into one.

Chief Qazi.

Sadr-us-sadr.

The chief Qazi presided over the judicial machinery of the Empire. The Sadr-us-sadr was the minister for religion, charity and grants, but his powers were seriously curtailed by Akbar.

Mir Arz.

The Mir Arz was in charge of the thousands of petitions that were addressed to the emperor. His office corresponds to the Serinia which were directed by masters of respectable dignity under the master of the offices in the Roman Empire.

Minor Bakhshis.

The minor Bakhshis were concerned with the draft, seal, and issue of the Imperial farmans, etc. The other chief officers were the Lord Privy Seal (Mir Mal), the Lord Standard-Bearer (Qurbegi), the Lord of the Admiralty (Mir Bahri), the Superintendent of Forests (Mir Barr), the Quarter-master-General (Mir Manzil), the Private Secretary (Munshi), the Master of Ceremonies (Mir Tozak), the Superintendent of the Stud (Akhtah Begi).

In the reign of Aurangzeb a muhtasib or censor of morals was appointed to regulate the life of the people. 'Manuals of Conduct' were drawn up for the central officers, all provincial governors, all district and subdivisional officers and above all,

for employees in the revenue departments. Their jurisdictions were defined; their duties were specified in every detail; minute codes of procedure were formulated.

Like the Roman Emperors, Merovingian Kings, and Norman-Angevin Kings, the Mughals had a number of high officers of the palace who wielded considerable power. The Khánsámá, or the master of the Imperial Household, or, to use a mediæval European term, the Mayor of the Palace, inspected the discipline of the palace, the Imperial establishments, and factories.

Officers of the Palace.

Round each of the high officers, there sprang up a regular secretariat, clerical staff, the whole paraphernalia of a bureaucratic administration.[25]

Secretariat.

Besides these efficient parts of the Government, there were what Bagehot would have called the dignified parts 'which excite, and preserve the reverence of the population,' which win loyalty and confidence, force and motive power to be employed by the efficient parts. Every morning the emperor showed himself at the jharokha window to the assembled multitude. The ceremony at first sight appears childish, but it served to impart the much-needed personal touch to the Government. Jahangir fully realized its importance and observed the custom even during his illness. There every Tuesday he sat in judgment, never refusing the poorest man's complaint, always ready to hear both sides of a case. There he returned every noon to witness the fights of elephants and wild beasts, for mankind have always loved to see the great unbend. Every evening was held a great darbar which dazzled the imagination of all who beheld it. In a little gallery overhead sat the emperor dressed in the richest attire and with his secretaries beside him; under him was a raised platform spread with beautiful carpets, covered with silk and velvet, with silver railings, occupied by the great nobles, ambassadors and distinguished foreign visitors; the next rail was reserved for the gentry, while

The 'Dignified' Parts of the Government.

The Jharokha.

25 Ain, I. pp. xi, v. viii.

the vast court overflowed with the common people. The Diwan-i-Am, as it was called, was the scene of some State business, but its primary function was to impress the popular imagination.[26]

It was, however, on festive occasions that the court presented the most splendid appearance. The vernal New Year's feast, called Nauroz, adopted from Persia by Akbar, was celebrated by Jahangir every year for nineteen days. In the Diwan-i-Am was erected a tent some sixty paces long and forty-five paces broad, covered all round with canopies of the richest and most finely embroidered velvet, silk and cloth of gold, hung over with fringes of gold and pearls, jewels and diamonds, fruits of gold, silver pictures and paintings; and laid underneath with carpets of silk and cloth of gold. Besides the royal throne, square in form, borne up with four pillars, inlaid with mother of pearl and covered with cloth of gold, there were placed a few chairs of State with soft cushions. The emperor appeared decked in pearls and jewels. Private rooms were provided for the ladies of the Imperial seraglio. Round the emperor's tent. the nobles laid out theirs within the compass of some five acres, contending with each other for the superiority of pomp and splendour. Houses of silver might be seen among the curiosities. The emperor visited every apartment and generally condescended to accept some gift. In return he bestowed titles and dignities, jagirs and promotions. Wine flowed in rivuless; verses and odes flew in hundreds. Gaity and merriment ruled everything during the nineteen pleasant days of the spring festival. A fancy bazaar was held where the ladies of the noble houses kept stalls. The emperor and his ladies haggled with the fair shop-keepers with humour and pleasantry. Music and dance charmed the festive parties that were held by day and by night.[27]

Nauroz.

[26] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 266-7.
Roe I. 106–8, 110, 112. Terry, 389.
Coryat, Crudities Unpaged, Purchas IV. 475.

[27] Sir T. Roe (Embassy, I. 42). Mandelslo (p. 41) and even Terry erroneously supposed Nauroz to mean nine days. Thevenot (Part III, Ch. XXVII, pp. 49-59), however, correctly understood its meaning.

The celebration began on the first of the Forwardin of the Persian Solar era when the sun moved to Aries. For celebrations during the reign

Next to Nauroz and second only to Nauroz in pomp and magnificence, came the weighing of the emperor on his lunar and solar birthdays. On the former he was weighed eight times, and on the latter twelve times, against various articles which were distributed among the courtiers and the indigent. Pomp and ceremony hardly knew any bounds.[28]

The Weighing of the Emperor.

of Akbar, see Ain, 1. 276-7. A. N. III, 32, 200-1, 236-7, 265, 295, 347, 585-6, etc. (Beveridge), 45-6, 283-4, 337, 385-6, 436, 510 889-890 etc.

Monserrate, Commentarius, p. 629. (Hoyland and Banerjee), 174–6.

For celebrations during the reign of Jahangir, see Jahangir (R. and B.) I. 47–9, and the beginning of every subsequent year of the diary. The Iqbalnama and the Maasir-i-Jahangiri borrow the descriptions from the emperor.

See also the Hawkins' Voyages, p. 439. Purchas, III. 48, Coiyat. Crudities unpaged, Purchas, IX. 491. Roe, Embassy, 143-4.

For later celebrations see the Persian histories of the reign of Shah Jahan, and particularly the Badshahnama of Abdul Hamid Lahori.

Peter Mundy, II. 237-38, Thevenot, III. Ch. XXVII, pp. 49-50. Bernier (ed. Constable), 272-3. Manucci (ed. Irvine), I. 195.

The puritanical Aurangzeb abolished the festival a few years after his accession to the throne.

28 The custom was introduced by Akbar.

The royal princes were first weighed when two years of age, and then only against a single article, an additional one being added each year till the number reached generally seven or eight but never beyond twelve.

All the articles were distributed among faqirs and poor people, often among Brahmans, during Akbar's reign. A separate treasurer and accountant were appointed to look after the financial arrangements for the occasions.

The articles were 'gold, quicksilver, silk, perfumes, copper, ruh-i-tutiya, ghi, rice, milk, seven kinds of grain, salt; the order of these articles being determined by their costliness. According to the number of years His Majesty has lived, there is given away an equal number of sheep, goats, fowls, to people that breed these animals. A great number of small animals are also set at liberty. Ain, I. 266.

A. N. (Beveridge), III. 580.

The eight articles against which the emperor was weighed on his lunar birthdays were silver, tin, cloth, lead, fruits, mustard oil and vegetables Ain, 1, 266.

See also Ain, I. 266-7, n. I. A. N. (Beveridge), III. 581. Badauni, II. 84. Lowe, p. 85). Jahangir (R. and B.) 77-8, 332-3. Padshanama, I. p. 243.

The solar weighing ceremony of the year 1617 is thus graphically described by Sir Thomas Roe:—

September 1.—Was the King's birth-day and the solemnity of his weighing to which I went, and was carried into a very large and beautiful garden, the square within all water; on the sides flowers and trees; in the midst a pinnacle, where was prepared the scales, being hung in large tressels, and a cross-beam plated on with gold thin, the scales of massy

The various Hindu and Muslim festivals were celebrated with impartial splendour. On the Dashera, the anniversary of Rama's victory over the demons, the Imperial horses and elephants were arrayed in decorated panoply and paraded for inspection. On the Rakshabandhan, the Hindu nobles and Brahmans fastened strings

The Hindu and Muslim Festivals.

gold, the borders set with small stones, rubies and truquoises, the chain of gold large and massy but strengthened with silk cords. Here attended the nobility, all sitting about on carpets, until the king came; who at last appeared clothed, or rather laden with diamonds, rubies, pearls and other precious vanities, so great, so glorious. his sword, target, throne to rest on correspondent; his head, neck, breast, arms above the elbows, at the wrists, his fingres every one with at least two or three rings, fettered with chains or drilled diamonds, rubies as great as walnuts (some greater) and pearls such as mine eyes were amazed at. Suddenly he entered into the scales, sat like a woman on his legs, and there was put in against him many bags to fit his weight, which were changed six times, and they say was silver, and that I understood his weight to be nine thousand *rupia* (rupees) which are almost one thousand pound sterling. After with gold and jewels, and precious stones, but I saw none; it being in bags, might be pebbles. Then against cloth of gold, silk, stuffs, linen, spices and all sorts of goods; but I must believe, for they were in fardles (bundles). Lastly, against meal, butter, corn which is said to be given to the Bania, and all the rest of the stuff; but I saw it carefully carried in and none distributed. Only the silver is reserved for the poor and serves the ensuing year, the king using in the night to call for some before him, and with his own hands in great familiarity and humility to distribute that money. The scale he sat in by one side, he gazed on me, and turned me his stones and wealth, and smiled, but spoke nothing for my interpreter could not be admitted in. After he was weighed he ascended his throne, and had basons of nuts, almonds, fruits, spices of all sorts, made in thin silver, which he cast about, and his great men scrambled prostrate upon their bellies; which seeing I did not, he reached one bason almost full, and poured into my cloak. His noblemen were so bold as to put in their hands, so thick that they had left me none if I had not put a remayner up. I heard he threw gold till I came in, but found it silver so thin, that all I had at first, being thousands of several pieces, had not weighed sixty rupees, I saved about twenty rupees weight yet a good dishful, which I keep to show the ostentation; for by my proportion, he could not that day cast away above one hundred pound sterling. At night he drinketh with all his nobility in rich plate.'

Roe, 411–3. See also Terry, pp. 376–8; Coryat's Crudities Unpaged; Purchas, IV. p. 473.

The Hawkins' Voyages, p. 440. Accounts of any year in the Memoirs of Jahangir, Iqbalnama, Maasir-i-Jahangir and Muntakhabul lubab.

For the ceremony after Jahangir's reign, Padshanama, I. p. 243, etc., Mandeslo, p. 42, Bernier (ed. Constable), p. 260.

Tavernier, I. 379. Some time after his accession, both the Nauroz and the weighing ceremony were abolished by Aurangzeb. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, III. 92–3, 97–9.

on the emperor's arms. The Diwali saw gambling in the palace. The Shivaratri was duly observed. Nor were the Muslim Id and Shab-i-barat neglected.[29]

Court Etiquette.

Nothing could exceed the splendour which surrounded the emperor and the court. Absolute power has always held forth irresistible temptations to luxury.[30] The pomp and display served to subdue the imagination of the multitude but, it must be admitted, at a heavy cost. The poor man's money flowed like water to gratify the tastes and vices, the whims and fancies, of a few high personages. The Mughal administration draws its darkest stain from the pomp, insipidity, and emptiness which Mommsen has only too truly styled the due accompaniments of a court. The etiquette observed was compounded of vanity on one side and servility on the other. Here, again, one may observe how like circumstances have produced like results in all ages and countries. As one glides through the annals of the Persian, Chinese, Roman, and Byzantine empires, one sometimes feels the atmosphere of the Mughal court. 'When a subject was at length admitted to the Imperial presence,' says Gibbon about Diocletian and his successors, and the words are perfectly applicable to the Mughals, 'he was obliged, whatever might be his rank, to fall prostrate on the ground and to adore, according to the Eastern fashion, the divinity of his lord and master.' Akbar who, like Diocletian, introduced the Persian etiquette in the teeth of opposition, may have believed with the great Roman emperor that habits of submission would insensibly be productive of sentiments of veneration, but the price paid in human dignity was terrible. Jahangir fully maintained the debasing theatricality though, probably as a concession to the strong prejudices of democratic Islam, he exempted the judicial officers, Mir Adils and Qazis, from the humiliation.[31] The foreign ambassadors, even the

29 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 246, 286, 361. II. 94-5, 100, 176. The Embassy of Sir T. Roe, p. 314.

30 See Ain, I. for the various Imperial establishments and their costs.

31 Jahangir (R. and B.), I, 203. For descriptions of the ceremony. Ain, I. 158-9. Jourdain, Journal, pp. 165-6.

representative of Persia—the glory and mistress of the Muslim world—had, generally, no objection to the ceremony. Only Sir Thomas Roe, be it said to his credit, resolutely maintained the dignity of his country by paying his respects in a manly fashion.[32] It is hardly necessary to state that in the Imperial presence the courtiers generally stood on their legs in the darbar; it was deemed a rare honour when Jahangir allowed Shah Jahan to sit. The emperor was addressed in public with a profussion of epithets in submissive tones and bated breath. The nobles mounted guard on his palace by turns and duly obeyed whatever commands they received.

Difficulties of Central Administration.

In spite, however, of all the show and pageantry at the headquarters, the Mughal Government found it difficult to make its authority effectively felt in the provinces. It is not easy for us who live in the days of the steamship, the railroad, the telegraph, the telephone, the penny post, post, and the halfpenny press, to realize the magnitude of the problems which sheer distance presented to mediaeval statesmen. Society always tended to organize itself on a local basis; even the loyal satrap unconsciously enlarged the necessarily large authority delegated to him; the recalcitrant Governor was tempted to assume virtual or open independence. The centrifugal forces demanded stern regulation, vigilance, and control.

The Mughal statesmen, like the Romans, solved the problem by dividing the substance and reducing the duration of authority.

The Provinces.

Akbar parcelled out the Empire into fifteen provinces. During the reign of Jahangir, Kashmir, Qandhar, Orissa, and Thatta though nominally sarkars, were for all practical purposes, distinct provinces, while the three Deccan divisions of Khandesh, Berar, and Ahmednagar really constituted a single satrapy, so that, in fact, the empire was distributed into seventeen viceroyalties.[33] If we leave out

32 Roe, I. 135, 295-6. The ceremony was abolished by Shah Jahan. See Abdul Hamid Lahori, Padshanama, I. p. 110.

33 The recognized fifteen provinces were—(1) Kabul, (2) Lahore, (3) Multan, (4) Delhi, (5) Agra, (6) Oudh, (7) Allahabad, (8) Bihar,

of account Kabul, which is now independent and Kashmir which is a protectorate, we may say that, roughly, a Mughal province represented one-half of a modern province in North India.

The Provincial Governor's Civil and Military authority.

The provincial governor was styled sipah-salar, Commander-in-Chief, Sahib-i-Subah or Lord of a province or simply subahdar, and latterly, only subah. Rarely did the emperor permit a viceroy to remain at court and have himself represented in the province by naibs or deputies. The system practised on a wide scale by the Omayyad Caliphs, resulted in wholesale peculation and oppression and contributed not a little to the disintegration of the Caliphate. It was only under the compelling force of high political reasons that the Mughals resorted to it. The provincial Governor combined the supreme civil and military authority. Here the Mughal statesmen differed, on the whole, for the better, from Constantine and his successors. 'The emulation and sometimes the discord,' says Gibbon, 'which reigned between two professions of opposite interest and incompatible manners. was productive of beneficial and pernicious consequences. It was seldom to be expected that the general and the civil governor of a province should either conspire for the disturbance, or

(9) Bengal, (10) Malwa, (11) Gujerat, (12) Ajmere, (13) Khandesh, (14) Berar, and (15) Ahmednagar.

Qandahar was lost finally in 1652, but Orissa, Kashmir, and Thatta were recognized separate provinces in the reign of Shah Jahan. See Muhammad Sharif Hanafi and Bakhtawar Khan (E. D.), VII. 137-8, 164—4. The lists of provinces given by the European travellers are curiously wide of the mark. Thus, Sir T. Roe enumerates 37 'kingdoms and provinces subject to the great Moghul, Shah Salim Jahangir,' the names of which he professes to have taken out of the King's register. He mentions Mewat. Sambhal, Jaunpur, etc., as separate provinces. He mentions Gaur and Bengal separately (Embassy, 430—41). Terry (Voyage to East India. 74—84) gives the same 'true' names which he says, 'we there had out of the King's own register.'

De Laet (tr. Lethbridge, *Calcutta Review*, LI. 1870, pp. 340—47) copies out of the 37 provinces.

John Jourdian (Journal, p. 189) enumerates fourteen provinces omitting a few real ones and imagining several new ones. Thus:—(1) Kabul, (2) Kashmir, (3) Qandahar, (4) Balkh, (5) Delhi, (6) Cambay, (7) Sindh, (8) Bengal, (9) Patan, (10) Mandu, (11) Gwalior, (12) Hissar, (13) part of Deccan, and (14) Porub, Hawkins (the Hawkins' Voyages, p. 420) contents himself with saying that 'the Empire is divided into five great kingdoms'—The Porub (east), Bengal, Malwa, the Deccan, and Gujerat.

should unite for the service, of their country. While the one delayed to offer the assistance which the other disdained to solicit, the troops very frequently remained without orders or without supplies; the public safety was betrayed, and the defenceless subjects were left exposed to the fury of the Barbarians. The divided administration which had been formed by Constantine relaxed the vigour of the State, while it secured the tranquillity of the monarch.'

Short Tenure of Office.

The Mughals sought to secure the tranquillity and security of the monarch and the State, without relaxing the vigour of either, by devising a series of checks on the governor's power. In the first place, he generally held office for two or three years only. The services of capable administrators were retained by transfer from province to province but, as a rule, they were not allowed to strike deep root in any region.

Illustrative tables.

The following tables compiled mainly from Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Matmad Khan's Iqbalnama, Khafi Khan's Muntakhabul lubab, and Shahnawaz Khan's Maasir-ul-umra will illustrate the point[34]:—

34 The conclusion is fully sustained by the lists of Governors of the other provinces which I have prepared, but which space fails to reproduce. See also Terry, pp. 364-5. It may be noted that seventeenth century Viceroys of Portuguese India also held office on an average for three years. Fryer, I. 189. II. 114.

BENGAL

No.	Year of Appointment		Names of Governors	Remarks
	Hindi year	Christian year		
1	1015	1605	Raja Man Singh ..	..
2	1015	1606	Qutbuddin Khan Koka	Killed in an encounter with Sher Afkun, the first husband of Nurjahan,
3	1016	1607	Jahangir Kuli Khan ..	
4	1017	1608	Islam Khan ..	
5	1022	1613	Qasim Khan ..	
6	1026	1617	Qulij Khan ..	Gladwin (p. 115) omits this name from his list of the Governors of Bengal, but see Jahangir (R. and B.) I. 352 and 373.
7	1026	1617	Ibrahim Khan Fathjang	Brother of Nurjahan Begam.
8	1032	1623	Asaf Khan ..	He did not actually take over charge of the province. For some time after the death of Ibrahim K. Fathehjang in 1624 in a battle with the rebel prince Shah Jahan, the province was practically in the latter's possession and was administered in his behalf by Darab Khan.
9	1034	1625	Mahabat Khan ..	Recalled.
10	1034	1625	Khanzad Khan ..	Recalled.
11	1035	1626	Muqarrab Khan ..	..
12	1036	1627	Fidai Khan ..	..

BIHAR

No.	Year of Appointment: Hijri year	Year of Appointment: Christian year	Name of the Governors	Remarks
1	1013	1604	Asaf Khan ...	..
2	1014	1605	Baz Bahadur ..	...
3	1016	1606	Jahangir Quli Khan ..	..
4	1016	1607	Islam Khan ..	...
5	1017	1608	Afzal Khan ..	..
6	1021	1612	Zafar Khan ..	..
7	1024	1615	Ibrahim Khan ..	..
8	1026	1617	Jahangir Quli Khan ..	..
9	1027	1618	Muqarrab Khan ...	..
10	1036	1626	Mirxa Rustam Safavi ..	..

GUJERAT

No.	Year of Appointment		Name of the Governors	Remarks
	Hijri year	Christian year		
1	1014	1605	M. Quli Khan ..	Raja Bikarmajit, whose appointment is mentioned does not seem actually to have taken charge.
2	1017	1608	Murtaza Khan ..	..
3	1017	1608	Mirza Aziz Koka Khan Azam	He sent his eldest son Jahangir Quli Khan as his deputy.
4	1020	1611	Abdullah Khan ..	
5	1025	1616	Muqarrab Khan ..	
6	1027	1618	Prince Shah Jahan ..	He governed through his agents, principally, the Brahman Sundar, styled Raja Bikramajit.
7	1032	1623	Prince Dawar Bakhsh ..	The Khan Azam was his guardian.
8	1033	1624	Mirza Safi (Nawab Safi Khan Jahangirshahi)	

In the second place, the provincial governor's Diwan or Chancellor of the Exchequer derived his appointment, pomotion, or dismissal direct from, and owed responsibility to, the headquarters. In matters financial, he stood like the Saheb-ul-khiraj of the Caliphate, on a par with the governor. He may be compared, roughly, to the quaestor in a Roman province. The separation of finance from political administration, worked, on the whole, fairly well in India and Western Asia.

The Diwan.

A similar co-ordinate position was assigned to the Recorder, whom the Franks called a Secretary of State, and whom Thevenot compared, rather loosely, to the Intendant of a province in France.[35] He corresponds more closely to the General Reporter, misnamed Sahib-ul-Barid or Postmaster, of the Abbasid Caliphate. It was his duty to keep the headquarters regularly informed of all the doings of the provincial authorities, of everything that created a sensation or excited any interest or curiosity—whether military, social or commercial, agricultural or biological, chemical or physiological.[36] Their reports, if they had survived, would have formed the most copious source of Mughal history. There were, indeed, as Bernier points out, cases of disgraceful collusion between the governor and the recorder.[37] The failure of the corresponding Mufettish and later Gurnalgy in Modern Turkey points in the same direction. The governor's friendship was often more profitable than the favour of the Headquarters. But there are instances of maladministration being brought to light and stopped by the News-recorder's reports. Not infrequently the very existence of the office served as a check.

Waqiah Nawis or Recorder.

Every province was divided into a number of Sarkars, which correspond to the modern districts. The officer who exercised civil and military jurisdiction over the sarkar went by the name of Faujdar, and answered to

The Sarkar.

35 Thevenot, III. Ch. X. p. 19.
36 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 247, fully realized value of the institution
37 Bernier (ed. Constable), I. 231.
For instructions to the News recorder see, Sarkar, Mughal Administration, 97–100.

the modern collector and magistrate and military commandant rolled into one. He constituted the unit of everyday administration.[38] He was, of course, subordinate to the governor, but he was appointed, transferred, or dismissed only by the headquarters, which meant another check on the Viceroy.[39]

The Faujdar.

The sarkar was sub-divided into paraganas or mahalls, which correspond to modern tahsils and paraganas, and which served as fiscal and police units. The Ain is silent on the designation of the officer in charge, but from Jahangir, Motamad Khan, and from family records it is not difficult to discover that he was called Chaudhari.[40]

Paraganas.

The towns were placed under the administration of kotwals, whose prerogatives far exceeded those of their modern namesakes. He was expected to perform all the functions of a modern municipal board and was superintendent of the police, magistrates, and much else besides. He regulated prices and sales, weights and measures, kept registers of roads and houses, watched the movements of strangers, decided certain cases and inflicted punishments. The headquarters expected him to see to the execution of their decrees and ordinances, and held him responsible for thefts and robberies committed within his jurisdiction. He therefore prohibited people from entering or leaving the town after night-fall. He kept an eye on the guilds of artisans and divided the town into wards for the sake of efficient administration. He demanded regular reports from the ward officers and had, besides, a large staff corresponding to the Criminal intelligence department.[41] The Kotwal Khan, as he was generally called,[42] is compared by the Portuguese

The Kotwal.

38 Ain (Jarrett), II. 40-41. For instructions to the faujdar, see Sarkar, Mughal Administration, 91—93.

39 Jahangir frequently mentions his appointments to faujdarships. For examples, Memoirs (R. and B.), I, 166. II. 102.

40 For example, Jahangir (R. and B.). I. 66-7. Many families still preserve the sanads of their ancestors who held the office of Chaudhari.

41 Ain (Jarrett), II. 42-3. The translation of the passage by Jarrett contains a few errors. Manucci, ed. Irvine. II. 420-21. Sarkar, Mughal Administration, 93—95.

42 Peter Mundy, 232, 282. Thevenot, III. Ch. IX. p. 20.

Monserrate to a chief bailiff,[43] and by Terry to an English bailiff.[44]

The Judicial Organization: The Qazi and the Mir Adl; The Provincial courts; The Imperial courts.

A review of the kotwal's duties alone would suffice to show that the Mughals did not believe in the doctrine of the separation of functions, but a certain degree of specialization is inevitable in all civilized administration. The Judiciary had a distinct organization and officers of its own. Except in grave matters, the village was generally left undisturbed, and the village or caste panchayats were everywhere suffered to exercise a sort of jurisdiction. But every town, generally even a very small town, had a Qazi and a Mir Adl who formed a judicial bench. The former investigated the case, while the latter pronounced the sentence. Sometimes the two offices were combined in the same person. In many places, there was a superior judge for appeals and revision of cases. In all important cases, an appeal lay to the court of the provincial Diwan, or Qazi, or Governor, who likewise exercised original jurisdiction in all cases that occurred round their seats. From the provincial courts, appeals could be preferred, doubtless only in important cases, to the Imperial diwan or qazi or the Emperor himself, who likewise sat to decide original cases arising round the head-quarters. When the emperor sat at the Jharokha, one had only to hold up a petition to be heard and answered. From the Jharokha, the emperor would come down to the Diwan-i-Khas at about 8 a.m. and sit on the throne of justice till mid-day. "This room was filled with the law-officers of the Crown, the Judges of Canon Law (qazis), judges of common law (adils), muftis, theologians (ulama), jurists learned in precedents (fatwa), the superintendent of the law-court (darogha-i-adalat), and the kotwal or prefect of the city police. None else among the courtiers was admitted unless his presence was specially necessary. The officers of justice presented the plaintiffs one by one, and reported their grievances. His Majesty very quietly ascertained the facts by inquiry, took the law from the

43 Monserrate (Hosten, J. A. S. B. VIII. 1912, p. 200).
44 Terry, Voyage to East India, p. 365.

ulama and pronounced judgment accordingly. Many persons had come from far-off provinces to get justice from the highest power in the land. Their plaints could not be investigated except locally; and so the Emperor wrote orders to the Governors of those places, urging them to find out the truth and either do them justice there or send the parties back to the capital with their reports."[45]

Jahangir's Chain of Justice.

In order to defeat the obstruction to the common people from the royal servants, Jahangir fastened a chain between his apartments and the bank of the Jumna, which every one could touch and to which bells were attached.[46]

No written codes.

There were no written codes of substantive law or of procedure. As Sir T. Roe said, 'Laws they have none written.'[47] Civil cases were decided according to custom, though difficulties must have arisen when the

[45] Ain (Jarrett), II. 41. Also I. 258.
Monserrate (tr. Hosten, J. A. S. B., VIII. 1912, p. 200). Commentarius (Hoyland and Banerjee), 209, 210-11.
Rai Bihari Mal, Lubbut Tawarikh-i-Hind (E. and D.), VI. 172-3.
Roe, I. 107, 320-1. Terry, 370-71, 353.
Coryat, Crudities Unpaged, Purchas, IV. 475.
Jourdain, Journal, p. 159. J. N. Sarkar, Studies in Mughal India, 14, 70.

[46] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 7. He thus describes its fashion— 'I ordered them to make a chain of pure gold, thirty gaz in length and containing sixty bells. Its weight was six Indian maunds, equal to forty-two Iraq maunds. One end of it they made fast to the battlements of the Shah Burj of the fort at Agra, and the other to a stone post fixed on the bank of the river.' It is doubtful if Jahangir was foolish enough to order the whole chain, even the part hanging outside the fort, to be made of gold. It has been doubted if the chain was ever used at all. Whether it was or not, its institution made an impression on the people. Khafi Khan (I. 248), writing a century later, mentions it with approval and adds that Jahangir ordered a proclamation to made that any one who was oppressed might through the bells bring his complaint to his ears. A Persian MS., the Razul Maluk (p. 20 a.), contains the fictitious story of an ass who, wandering on the river's bank, happened to shake the chain. An inquiry was at once instituted into his 'grievance,' when it was found that his owner, a miser, did not look after him well. The man was warned.

A similar chain of Justice had been set up by a Persian monarch some years before. According to Du Jarric, III. Ch. XVII. the chain was of silver, not of gold. William Finch (Purchas IV. 74), however, expressly states that golden bells were attached to the chain of Justice.

As Beveridge points out, 'Muhammad Shah in 1721 revived this and hung a long chain with bells attached to it from the octagon tower which looked towards the river' (Sair-ul-Mutakharin, I 320).

[47] The Embassy of Sir T. Roe, 120.

parties appealed to different sets of customs. Like the *Praetor Peregrinus* of ancient Rome, the judges must have exercised their discretion on such occasions. On the whole, the absence of a written code of civil law is a disadvantage but, as every cloud has a silver lining, it permits the free development and modification of customary law. More than one eminent jurist have complained that the action of the present High Courts of Judicature is imparting an unnatural rigidity to Hindu custom.

Civil Cases.

Criminal cases were decided according to an unwritten, severe code, compounded of Quranic law, Muslim tradition, Indian custom, and Imperial ordinances. Murder, robbery, theft, adultery, and treason were punished with death or multilation. Debtors could be sold into slavery.[48]

Criminal Cases.

The procedure of the courts was simple and summary. No sooner were the accused apprehended than they were produced before the court. It was seldom that a man had to wait for more than twenty-four hours for his trial. The parties to every civil suit or criminal case were examined by the Judges. Witnesses were summoned and severely cross-examined. Hindus had to swear on a cow; Muslim on the Quran, and Christians on the Bible. It is a tribute to the enlightened character of the Mughal administration that it did not recognise the ordeal as a mode of judicial trial. The Judges went over difficult cases several times. Monserrate has left it on record that at the Imperial court, torture of various species was often threatened but rarely employed. No sooner was the sentence pronounced than it was executed, unless, of course, an appeal was to be preferred or confirmation was to be obtained.[49] The 'round and quick' justice, says Terry,

Judicial procedure.

[48] Terry, p. 365.
Thevenot, III. Ch. X. 19.
[49] Terry opp. 353-4.
A Hindu's oath, says Thevenot (III. Ch. X, p. 19), 'consists only in laying his hand upon the cow and saying that he wishes he may eat of the flesh of that beast, if what he says be not true, but most of them choose

'keeps the people in such order and awe that there are not many executions.'[50]

Jahangir interdicted the cutting off of noses and ears, but he left other forms of amputation untouched.[51] During his reign, he never disgraced himself by inflicting the penalty of flaying, but he occasionally punished the darker social and political crimes with dreadful deaths by impaling, strangling, tearing by wild beasts, or trampling by elephants.[52] Imprisonment was rare and generally reserved for those whose activities were deemed dangerous to the stability of the social and political order. The fortress of Gwalior commanded by the valiant Ani Rai Singhdalan was the great State prison during the reign of Jahangir. The absence of common jails need hardly cause much regret, because until the commencement of the nineteenth century they were veritable hells on earth.

Punishments.

It is not perfectly clear what punishments each particular official was authorized to inflict. The Ain clearly invests the provincial Governor with powers of imprisonment and corporeal chastisement, but cautions him to 'the utmost deliberation before serving the principle of life,[53] Monserrate says that whenever the emperor was present, the death penalty could not be inflicted without his sanction.[54] Writing in 1667, Thevenot remarks that all sentences of death passed, whether by civil or criminal judges, had to wait for execution until the emperor's

rather to lose their cause swear, because they who swear are reckoned infamous among the idolaters.'

Monserrate (Hoyland and Banerjee) 211.

[50] Terry, p. 354.

[51] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 9.

[52] Terry, 354-5, Jahangir (R. and B.) I. 355.

As commanded by the driver, the elephant would eithe crush the culprit at once or break his joints one by one.

The mdoes of punishment were the same in the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir.

See Monserrate's Commentarius, also tr. Hosten, J. A. S. B., VIII, 1912, p. 194. (Hoyland and Banerjee), 210-11, Monserrate emphasises that Akbar punished those guilty of unnatural crimes by "scourging with leather thongs."

[53] Ain (Jarrett), II. 37.

[54] Monserrate (tr. Hosten, J. A. S. B., VIII. 1912, p. 194).

confirmation was obtained.[55] From Terry and Roe, however it is clear that during Jahangir's reign, the provincial Viceroys passed and executed sentences of death.[56] It is not too much to infer that no court below that of the Provincial Governor had powers of life and death.

The absence of advocates.

Throughout the procedure advocates are conspicuous by their absence. As a result, Indian law, Hindu as well as Muslim, was deprived of the services of a class of trained lawyers like those who harmonized and systematized Roman law and raised it to the dignity of a science, and many of whom 'filled the most important stations with pure integrity and consummate wisdom.' It was through her great jurisconsults that Rome bequeathed her greatest gift to posterity. But the power of the legal profession has never been an unmixed blessing. Gibbon has well described the corruption which overtook the members of the noble calling in ancient Rome and which is as clearly visible to every one who has had anything to do with modern courts of justice. '.... They (lawyers) interpreted the laws according to the dictates of private interest; and the same pernicious habits might still adhere to their characters in the public administration of the State....In the decline of Roman jurisprudence, the ordinary promotion of lawyers was pregnant with mischief and disgrace. The noble art which had once been preserved as the sacred inheritance of the particians, was fallen into the hands of freedmen and plebeians, who, with cunning rather than with skill, exercised a sordid and pernicious trade. Some of them procured admittance into families for the purpose of fomenting differences, of encouraging suits, and of preparing a harvest of gain for themselves or their brethren. Others, recluse in their chambers, maintained the dignity of legal professors, by furnishing a rich client with subtleties to confound the plainest truths, and with

[55] Thevenot, III. Ch. X. p. 19.
[56] The Embassy of Sir T. Roe, p. 120. Terry, p. 364.
For punishments, also see Peter Mundy, II, 72-3, 232-3. Purchas, IX. 47. Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 28.

arguments to colour the most unjustifiable pretensions. The splendid and popular class was composed of the advocates, who filled the forum with their turgid and loquacious rhetoric. Careless of fame and of justice, they are described, for the most part, as ignorant and rapacious guides, who conducted their clients through a maze of expense, of delay, and of disappointment; from which, after a tedious series of years, they were at length dismissed, when their patience and fortune were almost exhausted.'

Over the vast hierarchy of executive, judicial, and fiscal officers, the emperor watched through the numberless eyes of newsrecorders and secret spies. Espionage has a bad odour about it, but few governments, specially in times of danger—and mediæval States always had some danger from some quarter to apprehend —have been able to dispense with it. The Hindu lawgivers recognized the fact by recommending an extensive staff of secret service men. As early as the thirteenth century. Ala-ud-din Khilji had raised or degraded espionage to a science and a fine art. The Mughals adopted and modified the system. They maintained two classes of agents—one open, called Waqiahnawis or newsrecorders, the other, secret. The latter generally busied themselves with Government servants, while the former transmitted news of every conceivable description. If their documents had escaped the ravages of time, it would have been possible to write the history of mediæval India with a degree of fulness such as the annals of no country and no age could have matched. From the extracts and summaries preserved by Jahangir, Motamad Khan and others, it is clear that they sent periodical reports of all that they saw and heard. It is a tribute to the efficiency of the intelligence department that Hawkins, as he proceeded to complain of his ill-treatment at Surat, was surprised to learn that the Emperor Jahangir had already received a detailed report of the matter and taken the first steps to justice. Needless to say, a vast staff of couriers was maintained. Despatch runners were trained scientifically. A whole day "they can run on foot as far as a horseman can ride at full speed." Generally,

Newsrecorders and Spies.

however, the Government post, as in the glorious days of the Caliphate, was conducted by relays of horses on the high ways.[57]

Imperial tours.

The Imperial tours completed the system of local control.

Nevertheless, the distant local officers occasionally exceeded their powers and trenched on the royal prerogatives. In 1612 Jahangir issued a set of ordinances prohibiting tht border officers from exacting prostration or guard-duty from their subordinates; from appearing in Jharokha; conferring titles, beating drums on march, taking the royal attendants on foot during their progresses; from putting seals on their communications to royal officers; from forcible circumcision and from inflicting the penalties of blinding and cutting off ears and noses. They were likewise forbidden to hold elephant-fights or to place reins or goads on horses or elephants when presenting them to their subordinates.[58]

Regulations of the year 1612.

Governors who appeared from the reports of newsrecorders or from any secret reports to be abusing their power and authority were promptly required to furnish explanations and were recalled, censured, disgraced, or severely punished. There must have been a great deal of oppression which never reached the ear of the emperor, but neither Akbar nor Jahangir ever countenanced the least oppression on their subjects and always took prompt measures to terminate and punish any rapacious or cruel course of conduct on the part of their officers. Said Khan, when appointed Governor of the Punjab by Jahangir immediately after his accession, was plainly warned that if his notorious eunuchs tyrannized over the people, 'my justice would not put up with oppression from any one, and that in the scales of equity neither smallness nor greatness was regarded. If after this any cruelty or harshness should be observed on the part of his people, he

Punishment of tyrannical Governors.

57 The Hawkins' Voyages, pp. 400-1.
Monserrate (Hoyland and Banerjee), p. 212.

58 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 205. (E. and D.), VI. 325.
Iqbalnama, 59. K. K., I. 272.
Maasir-i-Jahangiri (Khuda Bakhsh MS.), pp. 78 (*b*) and 79 (*a*).

would receive punishment without favour.'[59] The emperor's favourite, Muqarrab Khan, was punished with the reduction of his mansab by half for an individual act of cruelty.[60] Mirza Rustam, governor of Thatta, who embarked on a course of tyranny over the people, was promptly recalled, disgraced and handed over to Ani Rai Singh Dalan, the great gaoler of State prisoners, to be punished in an exemplary way, after an investigation into his case. Some time after, however, the Mirza repented and apologized and was pardoned—after undergoing a thorough humiliation.[61] Chin Qulich Khan, the tyrant of Jaunpore, was likewise recalled and would have been suitably punished if he had not died on the way.[62] An inquiry was instituted into the case of Raja Kalyan, of whom certain unpleasant stories had been heard, but his innocence was clearly proved and he was acquitted.[63] Abdullah Khan Firoz Jang, governor of Gujerat, one of the valiant soldiers of the empire and a favourite of the powerful Shah Jahan, was recalled and had to undergo the uttermost humiliation and to seek the good offices of his patron to secure pardon.[64] Shah Jahan, himself, when at the height of his influence, received a most severe reprimand, which made the whole court tremble, for allowing his subordinate, the governor of Surat, to oppress English traders.[65] Numerous similar instances occurred. 'If,' wrote Hawkins, 'complaints of injustice which they (the local governors) do, be made to the King, it is well if they escape with the loss of their lands.[66] Justice, indeed, was one of the strong points of Jahangir. He sentenced an influential man, accused of murder, to death. 'God forbid,' he writes, 'that in such affairs I should consider princes, and far less that I should consider Amirs.'[67]

[59] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 13. M. U. II. 405, which has it that Said Khan gave a bond that if his servants oppressed the people, he would lose his head. Blochmann, p. 331.
[60] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 172.
[61] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 262, 263, 265.
[62] Jahangir (R. and B.), 301-2. M. U. III. 351.
[63] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 389-390.
[64] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 421.
[65] Roe, 116-7.
[66] The Hawkins' Voyages, Purchas, III. 43.
[67] Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 211.

Such was the Mughal administrative and judicial machinery and such was its practical working during the reign of Jahangir.

Mansabdars or Civil and Military Service.

The higher ranks of the hierarchy were graded into a combined civil and military services, and were called mansabdars or holders of rank. Every mansabdar was required to equip and furnish a stated number of foot and horse and to maintain a prescribed establishment. The grading went by the number which a mansabdar was supposed to maintain, though it was several times the actual figure. The more favoured officers were required to maintain special contingents for the State and were liberally remunerated for the same. The salaries were disbursed according to the nominal number and left annual margins of lakhs upon lakhs to the higher officers. It is, however, only fair to recognize that the pay was given only for some months in the year, that part of it was expended on establishments, and that part returned to the original source through presents and escheats. During the reign of Akbar the highest rank for princes of the blood was 12,000, and for others, at first 5,000, and then 7,000.[68] During the reign of Jahangir, Prince Khurram was promoted to 30,000 zat (personal) and 20,000 suwar (horse-contingent) and when he broke into revolt Prince Parvez was raised over him to the rank of 40,000 zat and 30,000 suwar.

Itimad-ud-daulah attained to 9,000 zat and suwar, while the rank of 7,000 was held by several personages and that of 5,000 by even more officers during Jahangir's reign. But as the mansabs rose in splendour, they declined in real dignity and influence and most probably in pay as well. During the reign of Akbar the mansabdars numbered about 1,500, but the total was nearly doubled in Jahangir's time.

Titles,

The title of Khan was claimed by nearly all high officers, and, in the case of the most favoured ones, was affixed to a surname which was supposed to indicate the peculiar excellence of its bearer. There were 'lords' of 'exercise', 'truthfulness,'

68 Raja Man Singh, Mirza Shah Rukh, and Aziz Koka, the Khan Azam, were the three personages who attained to 7,000.

'Lord Driver,' 'Lord Gentleman,' Pillars of State,' 'honesty,' 'highness', etc., More than one messenger found his name changed into the 'Lord of good news' as the price of his celerity and the quality of his burden.The form of the titles corresponds with startling exactness to the surnames bestowed by Constantine and his successors. What Gibbon says of the Roman Empire is literally true of the Mughal dominion. 'The principal officers of the empire were saluted, even by the emperor himself, with the deceitful titles of "Your sincerity, your gravity, your excellency, your eminence, your sublime and wonderful magnitude, your illustrious and magnificent highness."' As a rule the Mughal emperors did not bestow the same title on two living personages, and left a grandee to contemplate, with joy and pride, the undisturbed monopoly of his dignity. Three titled heads towered high above all worthies—the Khan Azam, 'the greatest lord,' the Khan Khana, 'the lord of lords,' and the Amir-ul-umara, 'the noble of nobles.'[69]

supposed to denote qualities,

as in the Roman Empire.

The highest dignities.

69 Badauni (Lowe) II. 193-4. Ain, I. 236—9. Irvine, 1—11.

From the list of mansabdars and their ranks and promotions, which I have compiled from the Persian authorities, I conclude that an officer of 5,000 in Jahangir's reign commanded far less prestige, and often weilded far less authority, than a corresponding mansabdar in Akbar's reign.

On the Mansabdari system, see Ain, I. 237—45. (Blochmann), 535-6.

Terry, p. 390-1.

Bernier (ed. Constable), 212——4.

Irvine's Army of the Indian Mughals.

J. R. A. S., 1915, p. 448.

The contemporary Hawkins' account of the system and the list of the highest mansabdars, though prepared from personal observation and inquiries, about 1609, are both inaccurate and defective, but his general classification of the holders, in the light of his English experience is extremely interesting. He makes the holders of

Hawkins' interesting classifications.

9,000	correspond to	Dukes
5,000	,, ,,	Marquises.
3,000	,, ,,	Earls.
2,000	,, ,,	Viscounts.
1,000	,, ,,	Barons.
400	,, ,,	Knights.
100	,, ,,	Squires.
50	,, ,,	Gentlemen.
20	,, ,,	Yeomen.

The contingents which each mansabdar furnished constituted something between a feudal levy and a militia. On the outbreak of a war or revolt they were summoned to join in all haste the imperial standard and to group themselves round the nucleus supplied by the royal regiments. Akbar's standing army comprised forty-five thousand cavalry, five thousand elephants and many thousand infantry. These had more than a slight tincture of soldiership, and were equipped with muskets, etc., though they were strangers to the discipline which marked the followers of Turenne, Conde or Luxembourg in the seventeenth century. The elephants were certainly trained to an extraordinary degree of efficiency. The Mongol, Persian, Turkish and Central Asian Cavalry could suddenly turn round in their career of full gallop and "fling their javelins with such deadly aim that they can transfix the eye of an enemy." Babur's artillery had turned the scales against the Pathans at Panipat in 1526. A series of improvements stood the Mughals in good stead against the Deccan forces in the following century. But scientific drill and training were rather of an elementary character. On this point the Mughals presented a woeful contrast to the Roman soldiers whose manœuvres in peace were performed with arms double the weight of those required in real action, and whose field of exercise differed from the field of battle only in the effusion of blood. The rude parks of artillery, the elephants, camels and noble horses, and a variety of muskets and ordnance made the whole difference between a Mughal army and an armed rabble.

The Army.

The Hawkins' Voyages, 419-20. Purchas, III. 29-30.
Hawkins puts the total number of mansabdars at 3,000.
Terry's account of titles (Voyage, p. 396) is very confused.
Blochmann (535—7) in his comparison of the numbers of mansabdars in the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir, and Shah Jahan, has relied on De Laet's estimate for the second reign, but De Laet underestimates the number.
Monserrate (Hoyland and Banerjee), 139—40.
Monserrate (Hoyland and Banerjee), p. 85.
Monserrate (Hoyland and Banerjee) 79.
Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 233, Peter Mundy, Travels, ed. Temple, II. 54, 55, 95, 98. Tavernier, ed. Ball, 39-43.
Irvine's Army of the Indian Mughals. Von Kremer, tr. Khuda Bakhsh, Orient under the Caliphs, p. 335.

Little need be said about the navy, for, unfortunately, the Mughals did not maintain one for fighting purposes. The Nawwaras, or fleets of boats kept on the Bengal streams, were very different from seaworthy vessels. Naval importance and military inefficiency formed the weakest point in the Mughal system.

No navy.

The commissariat service was provided by the employment of tribes of Banjaras who transported various commodities on their thousands of bullocks from province to province. Merchants were encouraged, by exemptions from imports and taxes, to bring in provisions to the army on march. Treasure was generally transported by elephants and camels; ordnance and baggage on two-wheeled carts, while the king's furniture and effects were drawn by mules.

Commissariat.

Like a Roman or Arab camp, a Mughal camp was laid out exactly in the form of a city with the emperor's or the general's quarters towering aloft in the centre.[70]

Encampment.

The expenses of the army, the stupendous salaries of the officers, the wasteful expenditure of the court, the libtral patronage of art and literature, the cost of secretariat establishments, public works, and all else, were defrayed from a revenue greater than that of any country in the world. The Crown lands supplied a great sum; the customs, levied on numerous articles, and mines brought in something; tributes, presents, and escheats yielded more, but by far the most important head of receipt was the land revenue.

Finances.

Crown lands.

Akbar's revenue reform have deservedly received the highest encomium, but their nature seems to have been greatly misunderstood. Bengal, Kabul, the Deccan, and some isolated tracts were left under big landowners who paid fixed amounts. The rest of the empire was carefully surveyed: the land was divided, on the basis of fertility, into four classes—Poraj, Polach, Chachar, and

The land revenue system.

70 Ain I. 47-8.
Monserrate (Hoyland and Banerjee), pp. 75-7.

Banjar; one-third of the produce was budgeted as the average State demand, and where the produce was not paid in kind, it was commuted into money on the average of the previous ten years' rates. There was no ten-yearly survey settlement as most writers have supposed. The chief merit of the system lies in its certainty and in the absence of zamindars. The villages sometimes refused to pay and force had to be employed.

No Zamindari system.

The revenue administration was presided over by the Imperial and provincial diwans, while the lower grades were formed by the collector (Malguzar), accountant (Bitikchi), sub-division collector (Karori), and the Patawari or village accountant.[71]

Revenue officers.

Jahangir did nothing more than maintain the system of Akbar. We read, indeed, that shortly after his accession he appointed Wazir Khan diwan of Bengal and charged him to settle the revenues of that region. But nothing further is recorded of the mission. In the fiscal system a distinction was drawn between central and local heads. The former comprised tributes, monopolies, land revenue, customs, mint, escheats and presents on the side of income.[72]

To encourage agriculture and, particularly, the reclamation of waste, large concessions were granted on barren and on less fertile land. Remissions of revenue were made with a liberal hand in times of scarcity or famine.

Concessions.

Thanks to the difficulties of transport, mediæval famines were restricted in area but intense in suffering. Indian historians and foreign travellers alike paint a ghastly picture of the hunger and mortality that raged

Famines.

71 Ain (II). Jarrett 88, 96, 115, 182.
Badauni (Lowe), II. 192-3.
Thomas' Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire.
Moreland and Yusuf Ali, J. R. A. S., 1918, pp. 1—42.
V. A. Smith, Akbar, 138—141, 309—79.
Von Noer, Akbar, I. 171—175.
72 Jahangir (R. and B.) I. 22.
Moreland, From Akbar to Aurangzeb, 269.

wild over the stricken region. The State did something to relieve the misery. Besides remissions of revenue, it distributed large sums of money, opened relief works, encouraged recruitment to the army, and established free soup-kitchens and alm-houses.[73]

Relief.

Such were the principles and institutions of the Mughal government. Not the least service which they rendered to the country was the influence they exercised on the protected States. For then, as to-day, the supreme Indian Government stood suzerain to the Rajput princes and to petty chiefs scattered all over the country. Those of them who survive still preserve the administrative jargon of the Mughal days. In the seventeenth century, as to-day, the protected States retained internal autonomy; some of them paid tribute; all of them surrenderd foreign affairs to the direction of suzerain power.

Protected Princes.

The main lines of Mughal foreign policy were determined by a few simple geographical facts and a few simple historical associations. The ancestral patrimony of Transoxiana appealed strongly and uniformly to Babur and Humayun as their real home, and cost them many a bloody expedition and many a terrible disaster. Akbar and Jahangir entertained some thoughts of annexing the region, but wisely gave up the chemerical idea. Flushed with glory and prosperity, Shah Jahan could not resist the temptation and wasted thousands of lives and millions of rupees in the vain attempt.[74] During the reign of Jahangir, the sphere of Mughal diplomacy was confined to the regions south of

Mughal foreign policy.

Transoxiana.

Persia.

73 Shaikh Nur-ul-Haq, Zubdat-ut-Tawarikh (E. and D.), VI. 193. Abdul Hamid Lahori. Padshahnama (E. and D.), VII. 24-5.

74 Babur's Memoirs. Erskine's History of India under Babur and Humayun. Shrine and Ross's Heart of Asia. Tarikh-i-Rashidi, Elias and Ross. Ain I. Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 89. Abdul Hamid Lahori, Padshahnama, II. 482, 627, 637. (E. and D.), VII. 70—72. Inayat Khan's Shah Jahannama (E. and D.), VII. 76—85. Sir Thomas Holdich's Gates of India, Ch. XII—XIV (pp. 411—61). Sarkar's History of Aurangzeb I. Ch. V-VI pp. 83—114. For the popular interest excited by Transoxian warfare, see English Factories in India, 1646—50, pp. 51-2, 140. Manucci (ed. Irvine), I. 185.

the Oxus. The emperor was sincerely anxious to regions south of the Oxus. The emperor was snicerely anxious to maintain friendly relations with the contiguous kingdom of Persia, but he was determined to retain Qandahar which formed a bone of contention between the two mighty neighbours for a century and a half. Further west,[75] Akbar prepared an embassy for 'the ruler of Europe'—Philip II. of Spain, but the pompous despatch recommending universal peace and harmony, never reached Madrid.[76] Jahangir once thought of sending sumptuous embassies to the courts of the King of Spain and the Pope of Rome. He offered a hearty welcome to the English emissaries, William Hawkins and Sir Thomas Roe, but could not bring himself to consent to a commercial treaty with England. Nearer home, Jahangir followed his father in encouraging and protecting Portuguese Jesuit missions from Goa, in resisting Portuguese aggression on the western coast and in proposing to drive the foreigners into the sea.[77] During the reign of Shah Jahan, Portuguese piracy and fiendish atrocities on the Arrakan shore actually kindled hostilities.[78] Unlike Shah Jahan, Jahangir had little dealing with Tibet and neither had need to care at all for the Far East.

Europe.

The Portuguese.

Tibet.

The busiest scenes of seventeenth century Mughal diplomacy and warfare lay within the borders of India itself. Kangara, the impregnable stronghold in the lower Himalayas, which had defied the arms of a long succession of Delhi sovereigns, was starved into surrender in

Kangara.

75 Du Jarric, Ch. XXII.
76 Monserrate (Hoyland and Banerjee, 163-4, 184-5 for 184-5 for the translation of the letter, Indian Antiquary, April 1887, pp. 135 *et seq*.
77 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 215, 255, 274. Du Jarric, XXII. Gladwin, 28. Foster's Introduction to Sir T. Roe's Embassy, pp. x-xxii.
Hosten's List of Jesuit Missionaries in Mogor (1580—1803), J. A. S. B., 1910, pp. 527—42.
78 Abdul Hamid, I. 434. (E. and D.), VII. 31—35, 42.
K. K., I. 468. (E. and D.), VII. 211-12.
Bernier (ed. Constable) 174—82. Manucci (ed. Irvine), I. 181—3, 185.
Hosten's Bengal Past and Present, Vol. X. 1915, pp. 43—5, 51, 81, 89—91, 94, 99. English Factories in India, 1624—29, pp. 154, 326—9, 335, 361.

Mewar.

1621.[79] Mewar, the sole remnant of Rajput independence, which had withstood the mightiest efforts of Akbar, was brought to its knees in 1614.[80]

The Deccan.

On the Deccan border, Jahangir continued persistently, though unsuccessfully, the policy handed down through Akbar and Allauddin Khilji, Harshavardhan and Samudragupta, from the Mauryan emperors of the fourth and third centuries before Christ. If the Vindhyas had resembled the Eastern Ghats, India might have developed into one strong united nation. If they had resembled the Himalayas, the country might have been effectually partitioned into two nations, each homogeneous within itself. As it was, they divided the north from the south, and yet, before the invention of modern facilities of communication, encouraged either to domineer over the other. In the effort, the Mughals and Marathas alike exhausted and wasted themselves.

The debt of the Mughals to their predecessors.

Sher Shah,

the early Pathans,

the Hindus.

It is clear that in the domain of foreign policy within the borders of India, the Mughals only developed the plans of their predecessors. In the sphere of domestic policy the debt of the Mughals to their predecessors is less apparent but not less real. It is universally recognized that Akbar followed the lines that had been pursued by Sher Shah. Now Sher Shah was a sagacious ruler and wise statesman, but he had not much of the originality that has been ascribed to him. He only built on the foundations laid by his predecessors. A close study of Ziauddin Barni and Samas-i-Siraj, to name only of the numerous Pathan historians, will reveal to any one not only the germs but the undeveloped forms of the institutions which are associated with Mughal rule. The 'Pathans', in their turn, had mostly adopted the ways and methods of their Hindu predecessors.[81]

79 See Ch. XIII. *seq.*

80 See Ch. X. *seq.*

81 For Hindu institutions and ideas of government see my "Theory of Government in Ancient India (Post-Vedic)" and "State in Ancient India."

So the stream of institutional life and development flowed from immemorial antiquity on to the eighteenth century when it received fresh waters from the West, without, however, changing its essential character. The administration under which we live today is a development of the institutions of Mughal days, though the introduction of representative institutions, the first instalment of responsible government, the growth and organization of public opinion and, above all, the awakening of the mass consciousness, promise to mark a decisively new era.

The debt of the British Government to the Mughals.

Conclusion.

CHAPTER V

JAHANGIR'S ACCESSION

SALIM had completed thirty-six years when he mounted the throne of Agra. He was a tall, fair, handsome man, with keen, piercing eyes, thick, curling eyebrows and flowing whiskers. His broad chest and long arms added to the appearance of vigour and energy.[1] Social in his habits, polite and engaging in his manners, lively in his conversation, frank and cheerful of temper, he was fond of delicious diet and sumptuous dress, of convivial parties and frivolous amusement, of song and music, of literature and art.[2] In spite of occasional sallies of passion, he was generous of heart, kindly

Character of Salim.

[1] 'He is of complexion neither white nor black, but of a middle betwixt them; I know not how to express it with a more expressive and significant epithet than olive; he is of a seemly composition of body—Coryat's Crudities Unpaged, Purchas, IV. 473.

[2] Hawkins was received 'with a most kind and smiling countenance' and bidden 'most heartily welcome.' Purchas, III. p. 11. Terry (p. 440) likewise received a warm welcome and many 'tokens of civility and respect. Thomas Milford (Letters Received, III. 85-6) acknowledges the great courtesies he received at the emperor's hands. Roe (pp. 107, 112) says that Jahangir was 'very affable'—'of a cheerful countenance without pride.'

On Thursday, the day of his accession, and on Sunday, his father's birthday, he abstained from meat. Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 309-10. He had no fixed hours for meals, but provision was always kept ready for him and served by eunuchs in vessels of gold at call. He loved grapes, figs, oranges, apples, pomegranates, melons, and above all mangoes, and sent for them from far and near. In 1618 he took a liking for the bajra khichri of Gujerat.

See Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 5, 270 271, 309-10, 350, 377, 398, 413 Terry, 195—8, 376. Purchas, IX. 20.

'The tongue of this suppliant at the throne of God fails in gratitude for the favours notwithstanding a distance of three months, grapes from Kabul arrive quite fresh.' Jahangir (R. and B.), I. p. 404.

'Some melons arrived from Kariz (in Khurasan)...... he writes when encamped near Ahmedabad in 1618. 'Although this is at a distance of 1,400 kos and caravans take five months to come, they arrived very ripe and fresh. They brought so many that they sufficed for all the servants. Together with these came oranges from Bengal, and though that place is 1,000 kos distant, most of them arrived quite fresh. As this is a very delicate and pleasant fruit, runners bring by post as much as is necessary for private consumption and pass it from hand to hand. My tongue fails me in giving thanks to Allah for this.' *Ibid.*, pp. 422-3.

For a similar notice about apples sent by Mahabat Khan from Bangash, see *Ibid.*, II. 101.

in disposition and open-handed.[3] He had strong family affec-

Like other Mughal emperors, Jahangir usually drank Ganges water, because, as Terry says, it is lighter than other water. Under the Mughal emperors there were regular departments of kitchen and drinks. Purchas, IX. 20.

Ganges water.

On the marches, Ganges water was carried in jars on camels with the emperor. See Bernier's description of Aurangzeb's march, p. 356 and p. 364.

Jahangir like his wife, Nur Jahan, was very particular in matters of dress. He adopted for himself certain special clothes and cloth stuffs, and restricted their use to those on whom he chose to confer them. 'One was a nadiri coat that they wear over the qaba (a kind of outer vest). Its length is from the waist down to below the thighs, and it has no sleeves. It is fastened in front, with buttons, and the people of Persia call it kurdi (from the country of the Kurds). I gave it the name of nadiri. Another garment is a Tus shawl, which my revered father had adopted as a dress. The next was a coat (qaba) with a folded collar (batu giri ban). The ends of the sleeves were embroidered. He had also appropriated this to himself. Another was a qaba with a border, from which the fringes of cloth were cut off and sewn round the skirt and collar and the ends of the sleeve. Another was a qaba of Gujerati satin, and another a chira and a waistbelt woven with silk, in which were interwoven gold and silver threads.'

Dress

Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 384.

On his head Jahangir wore a rich turban often studded with a plume of several long heron tops, with rubies, diamonds, and emeralds hung on sides or set in the middle. The garland of large, beautiful, excellent pearl, emerald, or ballace ruby about his neck; the armlets set with precious diamonds; the rows of valuable wristlets on his wrists; the rings on his fingers; the shoes embroidered with pearl, with the toes sharp and turning up—all formed a glittering spectacle. He often used English gloves. The sword and buckler which he often hung on were set all over with precious diamond and rubies; the belts were made of gold. Hawkins has it that the empeeor wore his diamonds by turns.

Roe, 321-2. See also Hawkins.

In 1614, Jahangir made holes in his ears to wear rings in reverence for the Shaikh Salim Chishti, to whom he ascribed his recovery from a late illness. Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 267-8.

For Jahangir's convivial parties, which were held on Thursday evenings, see Memoirs (R. and B.), I. 49, 105, 306, 307, 319, 342, 385, 409, 411, 427, 431, 432, 435.

II. 1, 22, 40, 42, 48, 49, 50, 57, 100, 173, 213, 214.

Finch (Purchas IV, 75) wrongly says that Jahangir drank thirty cups or more a day.

Hawkins (Purchas, III. 47).

Roe (Embassy), 119, 276, 303, 362, 363, 382, 446.

For his love of art and letters, see *ante* chs. I and IV.

[3] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 432, etc. II. 8, etc.

Terry, p. 389.

Wherever he happened to be, he never forgot the claims of indigence and merit on his bounty. 'No king was ever more generous and kind to beggars than Jahangir.' Intikhab-i-Jahangirshahi (E. and D.), VI. 448.

tions and entertained a deep reverence for his mother and his nurse and for the memory of his father.[4]

His mind had been formed by the most cultivated teachers at the most cultivated court in India. Abreast of the natural sciences and a remarkable linguist for his station, he was familiar with Persian poetry, Islamic theology, Hindu philosophy, and Christian scriptures, and was endowed with a fund of geographical knowledge and historical associations.[5] He lacked that sort of nerve and that sort of ability which make a good commander, but he never lacked personal courage.

Free from bigotry and endowed with plenty of that most uncommon commodity called common sense, he was admirably qualified to work the liberal polity bequeathed by his father. His doings during the last five years had aroused serious misgivings, but responsibility restored his sobriety and equilibrium.

Coronation October 24, 1605.

After a week devoted to mourning for Akbar, Salim formally mounted the throne in the fort of Agra on Thursday, October 24, 1605, amidst a shower of gold and silver. A Muslim coronation includes no anointing, no oath, and no sermon. Salim put the crown on his head with his own hands, commanded the public prayers

[4] He regrets that his father was not present to enjoy the Itr Jahangir and Yezd pomegranates. He calls his father's sepulchre the 'city of paradise.' See Jahangir, pp. 33—45, 249, 270, 271, 309, 310, 350.

He would help to carry his mother's palanquin on his shoulders. Terry, p. 389. Purchas, IX, 52. He was sincerely attached to his sisters. Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 36.

He was disconsolate at the death of his infant granddaughter. (*Ibid.*, I. 326-8). The news of Shiya's fall from a window disconcerted him. (*Ibid.*, II. 47.) He mourns the death of his father-in-law in pathetic terms. (*Ibid.*, II. 222.)

For his grief at the death of his nurse, see *Ibid.*, I. 83-4.

See also *Ibid.*, II. 45, 46, 47, 152, 248.

For his grief as the loss of his friends and officers, see *Ibid.*, I. 319, 342, 385, 411, 427, 431, 432, 435. II. 87.

[5] Hundreds of instances might be quoted from the Persian chroniclers and European travellers. A few references may be given.

Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 83-84, 93, 97, 98, 140-43, 155, 238, 245-46, 248, 272, 322, 335, 343, 357-9, 360, 361, 362, 383, 387, 410, 412, 413.

II. 96-8, 98, 99, 130-98, 224-5.

Jourdain's Journal, 166-7.

Letters Received, III. 17, 68.

to be read in his name, and assumed the lofty title of Nuruddin Mohammad Jahangir Padshah Ghazi. He signalized his accession by an extensive issue of new coins and by release of prisoners.[6] He issued the twelve celebrated regulations in furtherance of his father's beneficent policy, announced a general amnesty for recent political squabbles and confirmed the tenure of all officers, high and low.[7] Abdur Razzaq Mamuri and Khwaja Abdullah Naqshbandi, who had deserted his rebellious banner to join his father, were freely allowed to retain their offices and grants.[8] He sought to make amends for one of the great crimes of his life by honouring Abdur Rahman, son of Shaikh Abdul Fazl, and promoting him to the rank of 2,000.[9]

Regulations, Amnesty, Confirmation of offices and grants.

But it was impossible for him to forget the injuries he had sustained, or the services he had received, during his days of depression. Aziz Koka was suffered to retain his titles and dignities, but he was hurled down from power and subjected to repeated insults and affronts. Jahangir at first prudently conciliated Raja Man

New arrangements.

6 Asad Beg Wiqayah (E. and D.), VI. 173.
Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 1, 3, 10. Maasir-i-Jahangiri (K. B. MS.), pp. 32-3.
Iqbalnama, p. 2. K. K., I. 240—7.
Beale, Miftahut Tawarikh, p. 211.
Iqbalnama gives the 11th Jamad II. (October 15), as the date of Jahangir's accession, but Akbar did not die till two days later. Khafi Khan gives the 14th Jamad II. and calls it Thursday, but really it was Tuesday.
There is no doubt that Jahangir ascended the throne on Thursday which he styled the blessed day (Mubarak Shamha).
Du Jarric (III. Ch. XVI) says that Jahangir ascended the throne on the eighth day of Akbar's death.
Jahangir means World-taker. Padshah=king, and Ghazi=defender of the faith.
Sir Henry Elliot (E. and D., VI. 515) severely criticises the order for the release of prisoners. But he forgets that Jahangir only observed a time-honoured custom and that many of the released must have been political prisoners. Price's Jahangir (p. 10) indulges in hyperbole on his commands.

7 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 7-10, 15. All the chronicles reproduce the regulations.

8 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 13-14, 27.

9 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 17.

Singh, exchanged forgiveness and forgetfulness of the past with him, and promoted his son, Maha Singh, to the rank of 2,000.[10] But in 1606 'the old wolf,' as Jahangir called Raja Man Singh, was replaced in the governorship of Bengal by the minion, Qutbuddin Khan Koka, who was raised to the mansab of 5,000.[11]

Qutbuddin Khan, Governor of Bengal.

Sharif Khan, son of the great painter and calligraphist, Abdussamad, 'of the sweet pen,' was created vicegerent, premier noble and Keeper of the Great Seal. Salim's final reconciliation with Akbar had driven him into exile and reduced him to the sorest straits. The news of the death of the emperor whom he had betrayed came as a godsend to him. He hastened to Agra and presented himself to his old friend on November 8, 1605. No one could have been the object of a warmer welcome. 'I look upon him,' says Jahangir, 'as a brother, a son, a friend, and a companion.' Besides his other dignities, he was promoted to the rank of 5,000. But he was essentially a mediocrity, an object of contempt and detestation to the older and abler officers. His health was failing fast and he sincerely felt himself unequal to his new responsibilities. His elevation roused fierce jealousies at the court.[12]

Sharif Khan, grand vizier and Amir-ul-umara.

Fortunately, the diwanship was entrusted to more capable hands. It was put into commission between Mirza Jan Beg who

[10] Asad Beg Wiqayah (E. and D.), VI. 172-3.
Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 17.

[11] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 78.
Iqbalnama, p. 19.

[12] Jahangir (R. and B), I. 14, 15, 18.
Iqbalnama, p. 3.
K. K., I. 248.
Maasir-i-Jahangiri (Khuda Bakhsh MS.), p. 33.
Blcohmann, 495, 517.

A gratuitous insult, offered by the Khan Azam to the new vizier, has been preserved. The former invited the latter along with other nobles to a banquet. 'I say, Nawab,' he accosted Sharif, 'you do not seem to be my friend. Now your father, Abdussamad the Mulla, was much attached to me. He was the man that painted the very walls of the room we sit in.' Khan Jahan and Mahabat Khan left the hall by way of protest. Jahangir, when he heard of the incident, remarked to Sharif, 'The Khan cannot bridle his tongue, but don't fall out with him.'

had managed the Prince's finance and Mirza Ghiyas Beg, a Persian adventurer, who had migrated to India in 1577, had joined the royal service, and had been raised by his marvellous diligence, sagacity, organizing capacity, literary culture, and conversational charms to the mastership of the Imperial Household. No one wrote better State papers. No one was such a perfect master of his temper. Never did he abuse or whip a servant. Never did he put a retainer into chains. Never did he inflict a wanton injury on any one. Every contemporary writer has borne testimony to his sterling qualities, but unfortunately the gold in Mirza Ghiyas was mingled with alloy of the most sordid kind. He loved mammon with all his soul and frequently stooped so low as to accept bribes. He was now raised to the rank of 1,500 and invested with the lofty title of Itimad-ud-daulah.[13]

The Diwani committed to Mirza Jan Beg and Itimad-ud-daulah.

The next highest office fell to the lot of Shaikh Farid Bokhari who had led the opposition to Raja Man Singh and Aziz Koka on a memorable occasion. He had early distinguished himself in warfare against the Afghans in Orissa and had been promoted to 1,500. 'Great was his bounty and his soul sincere.' He never built a palace for himself, but always lived as if on the march. He paid all his men with his own hand; his subordinates received three complete dresses a year, his footmen a blanket a year, and even his sweepers were given shoes to wear. The dependents of his soldiers slain in battle were liberally provided with lands and money. Never did a beggar turn in disappointment from his doors. Never did a widow or an orphan apply to him in vain. Never did he behold want or distress but he relieved it. He built many a mosque, many a rest-house, many a

Shaikh Farid Bokhari appointed Mir Bakhshi.

13 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 22. Iqbalnama, p. 3. K. K., I. 248.
For the life of Itimad-ud-daulah, see Iqbalnama, 54-5. K. K., I. 263–5.
M. U., I. 127. Blochmann, 508–12. Beale's Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p. 185. Latif's Agra, 28-9, gives a half mythical account. See Ch. VIII. *seq.*

bath, and many a market. Of his immense wealth, he left behind him but 1,000 asharfis. Yet such was his manly self-respect and such his puritanical disposition, that he never gave a farthing to a flatterer or a singer. On the field of battle he was distinguished by cool courage, intrepid valour, and contempt of danger. Such was the man whom Jahangir now elevated to the office of Mir Bakhshi and to the title of 'lord of the pen and the sword.'[14]

Zamana Beg, son of Ghayur Beg of Kabul, was raised to 1,500 and given the title of Mahabat Khan, which he was destined to make renowned all over the country.

Mahabat Khan.

Early in life he had entered the rank of Ahadis, and had been placed on the personal staff of Prince Salim. Upright in character, open of heart, frank and fearless in talk, he won the affection and respect of his master. Jahangir always allowed him the greatest liberty of speech. He returned the compliment by a boundless personal devotion. A high sense of self-respect, bordering on pride was ingrained in his nature. Blunt and outspoken, he was free from the taint of servility and could never brook domination. On the field of battle he was unsurpassed for personal valour and courage. Of the higher qualities of commander, he combined in a pre-eminent degree capacity for organization, boldness in conception, celerity in execution, adaptability, resourcefulness, and tenacity. Rajput soldiers recognized his military genius, enrolled themselves under his command, and returned his solicitude for them by blind loyalty. Later Rajput tradition ascribed to him a Rajput origin, but on occasion he was capable of astute diplomacy from which a Rajput would have shrunk in horror.[15]

Among the minor followers of Prince Salim, Ruknuddin, styled Sher Khan, received the mansab of 3,500;[16] Lala Beg,

[14] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 13. Iqbalnama, 3, 88. K. K., I. 248. Blochmann, 414.

'Sahib us saif wa Iaqalam' was the title bestowed on Shaikh Farid.

[15] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 24. Iqbalnama, 4, K. K., I. 248.

Tod (Routledge, I. 282) makes him the son of Sagar, the treacherous brother of the great Rana Pratap.

[16] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 17.

transformed into Baz Bahadur, was raised to 4,000 and to the governorship of Bihar;[17] Mir Ziauddin Qazwini to 1,000 and to the accountancy of the stables.[18] But the most disgraceful promotion was that of the blood-stained Bir Singh Bundela, who, on the death of Akbar, emerged from his wild retreat and presented himself at Agra to receive the rank of 3,000 and to exercise some influence on his client and patron. The preference which he was uniformly given exasperated and drove into revolt his elder brother, Ram Chandra Bundela, who was repressed with great difficulty by Abdullah Khan.[19]

Other promotions.

Another class of personages in whose careers the accession of Jahangir marked a red-letter day, were the descendants of Shaikh Salim Chishti (to whose intercession the emperor ascribed his advent into the world). Alauddin was styled Islam Khan and later appointed to the governorship of Bengal.[20] His son, Ikram Khan, rose to 5,000 zat and 1,500 suwar and to the faujdarship of Mewat.[21] Shaikh Kabir, styled Shajaat Khan, held high office with distinction in Bengal,[22] while Shaikh Bayazid also started on a prosperous career, because he was the son of his mother, who had suckled the infant Prince Salim on the first day of his existence.[23]

The feelings of jealousy and discontent which these undeserved elevations naturally provoked were assuaged by a general increase of pay by 20 per cent or more, even in some cases by 300 or 400 per cent. The remuneration of the cadet corps of Ahadis was

General promotions.

17 *Ibid.*, 21.
18 *Ibid.*, 25.
19 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 24, 82, 87, 160.
M. U., II. 99.
Blochmann, 487. Keshavadas, Bir Singh Deo Charitra. Ram Chandra is often called Ram Shah. See Bundelon ki Banshavali, Chhatarpur MS.
20 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 31-2, 208, 287.
21 *Ibid.*, II. 102.
22 *Ibid.*, 29.
23 *Ibid.*, 32.

raised by 50 per cent. All the grants of charity lands were confirmed and money was poured in bountiful generosity to the relief of poverty and misery.[24]

Charities.

The festivities and rejoicings at the coronation of the Emperor and the promotions of the officers gave Agra a glorious appearance for a few months. That city then ranked among the finest, wealthiest and most populous in the world. For more than a century it had been the metropolis of Northern India, except for a few years when Akbar took a fancy to Sikri. During the reign of Jahangir it stretched for fifteen miles along the right bank of the Jumna. Its varying breadth, seldom more than seven miles, gave it the appearance of a half-moon. The suburbs extended on all sides and covered an area of two square miles across the river. The streets of the city were paved with stone, but were rather narrow. A busy commerce, and the movements of a population equal to that of contemporary London, gave an appearance of fairs to the markets. The shops were stocked with the rich products of art and nature, from the remotest corners of Asia and Europe. Some of the buildings in the interior were three or four storeys in height, but the most beautiful part of the city lay on the edge of the waters of the Jumna. There the grandees had erected mansions second in splendour and elegance only to the royal quarters in the Fort.

The City of Agra.

The famous citadel, a city in itself, built by Akbar at the cost of thirty-five lakhs of rupees, still stands, the silent witness of a hundred revolutions. Its rampart and bastions of red sandstone are as firm as ever. The outer ditch has disappeared but the inner moat remains, no longer rippling with the waters but overgrown with weeds. In front of the gateway stood the life-size statues of two majestic elephants, bearing the Rajput heroes, Jaimal

The Citadel of Agra.

[24] *Ibid.*, 9, 10. Iqbalnama, 4, 5.
Maasir-i-Jahangiri (Khuda Bakhsh MS.), 33—5.
K. K., I. 248-9.
Du Jarric, III, Chapter XIII.

and Putta. The fine structures and apartments which adorned the interior of the fort during the reign of Jahangir, were improved into marvels of beauty and elegance by Shah Jahan, but the ravages of time and human vandalism have changed everything. Nevertheless the halls of public and private audience, the Bengali Mahal and the Jahangiri Mahal, besides a few minor edifices, still bear eloquent testimony to the taste and magnificence of the times of Jahangir.[25] Here, in March, 1606, he celebrated the first vernal festival of his reign with unparalleled pomp and splendour.[26] But hardly had the noise of revelry subsided when the empire was agitated by the intelligence that the eldest prince had unfurled the standard of revolt.

The first Nauroz celebration: March, 1606.

[25] Ralph Fitch, 98. Purchas, X. 173.
William Finch, Purchas, IV. 73, 75.
Joseph Salbancke, Purchas, III. 83-4. Monserrate (Hoyland and Banerjee), pp. 32—6.
De Laet tr. Lethbridge, *Calcutta Review*, LI, 1870, pp. 67—71.
Herbert, 62.
Jourdain's Journal, 162—4.
For seventeenth century descriptions later than the reign of Jahangir, see Peter Mundy, II. 206—24.
Thevenot, Part III. Ch. XIX, pp. 33—5.
Mandleslo, 44—7.
Bernier (ed. Constable), 284—8.
Tavernier (ed. Ball), 105—109.
Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh (Delhi ed.), 354-5.
Manucci (ed. Irvine), I. 132-3.
Among modern accounts, the fullest is that by Latif, entitled Agra: Histroical and Descriptive, but it is diffused and unsystematic. For a short account, Keene's Handbook Guide to Agra, 6—22.
For buildings within the fort, Fergusson, II. 192-3, 302—4. Reports of the Archæological Survey contain valuable and accurate information.
[26] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 48-9. Iqbalnama, 8.
Maasir-i-Jahangiri (Khuda Bakhsh MS.), p. 39 (*b*). K. K., I. 249.

CHAPTER VI

PRINCE KHUSRAU'S REVOLT

Jahangir's reconciliation with Khusrau.

On the morrow of Akbar's death, Raja Man Singh had prepared his boats to sail for Bengal with his nephew Prince Khusrau, when he received overtures for a reconciliation from the new sovereign. The chivalrous Rajput demanded perfect safety and security for Khusrau as the one condition of peace. Jahangir promised, on the most solemn oaths, that no harm should befall the prince from any quarter. The next day Man Singh presented Khusrau at the court. The emperor embraced and kissed his son with the warmest affection and dismissed Man Singh in all honour to Bengal. A few days later Khusrau received a lakh of rupees to repair for himself an old mansion in Agra.[1]

Semi-confinement of Khusrau.

The reconciliation was a stroke of statesmanship. With Khusrau as his trump-card, Man Singh could have set up an independent court in Bengal and attracted thither all the disaffected spirits in the empire. But the hearts of father and son had been hopelessly rent asunder. The one could not forgive nor the other forget the recent past. Khusrau had aspired to the throne and had but narrowly missed the goal. With all his personal charm, natural talents, fine education, and blameless life, he was an immature youth of fiery temper and weak judgment—just the type of mind, which, joined with the advantages of high station and popularity, forms the most convenient point for intrigue and conspiracy. Rudely hurled down from the dreamland where he had reigned the monarch of all he surveyed, he could not reconcile himself to a situation of dependence and humiliation. On the other hand, the recent injuries and insults

[1] Asad Beg, Wiqayah (E. and D.), VI. 172-3.
Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 12.
The house had belonged to Munim Khan, one of the greatest of the nobles of the early part of Akbar's reign.

rankled in the heart of Jahangir, who, apprehensive of a repetition of the risks he had undergone, placed his son in a sort of semi-confinement within the fort of Agra. The dark prospect of lifelong detention alarmed the young man. Bereft of free intercourse with the outer world and yet allowed the company of a narrow circle, he turned to thoughts of escape and hazardous enterprise. He remembered the affection with which the populace had greeted him a few months before. He remembered the goodwill and favour he had received from a section of the nobility. He might yet retrieve his fortunes or at any rate break the bondage that threatened to reduce his life to one weary round of obscure misery and worry. His tender age, his personal charm, his distressful situation attracted to his cause a few hundred youngsters, including Mirza Hasan, son of the noble and puissant Mirza Shahrukh.[2]

Khusrau escapes, marches towards the Punjab, and is joined by Husain Beg Badakhshi.

On the evening of April 6, 1606, he escaped on pretence of a visit to his grandfather's tomb with about 350 horse and hurried towards the Punjab. At Muttra they were joined by Husain Beg Badakhshi and his 300 valiant horse, then on their way to the court in obedience to an Imperial summons. Husain Beg was made principal counsellor and addressed as Khan Baba by the prince. Numbers of ploughmen and freelances flocked to the rebel ranks till they swelled to 12,000. Plundering the country round and seizing all available horses, they rushed on. At night they quartered themselves on the poor villagers, much to the grief of the gentle Khusrau, or lay down in the open fields where jackals licked their feet. On the way, the prince intercepted an imperial convoy of a lakh of rupees which he distributed among his followers. Flying past Delhi, burning the serai at Narela, they were joined by Abdur Rahim, Diwan of Lahore, who was, like

Bridandage.

Abdur Rahim.

2 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 52.
Du Jarric, ch. XVII. See also Price's Jahangir, pp. 15-16. Bangabasi edition, Calcutta, p. 26.

Husain Beg, on his way to the court. The prince invested him with the title of Anwar Khan and created him vazir.[3]

At Tarn Taran, Khusrau sought and obtained the benediction of the influential Sikh Guru, Arjun, the editor of the Sikh Scriptures, whom he had seen during his grandfather's lifetime and to whom he represented himself as a distressed, forlorn individual.[4] Thence the prince marched to Lahore, then, as now, the capital of the Punjab, but found that it had been put into a state of defence by the governor, Dilawar Khan. After vain attempts to dissuade Abdur Rahim from treachery, Dilawar had galloped headlong from Panipat, warned the people on the way, and preceded Khusrau by two days, into the city. He repaired the rampart and towers, mounted canon and swivel guns, and prepared for a siege. The small garrison was soon reinforced by the arrival of Said Khan, whom the news of the revolt had found encamped on the Chenab on his way to Kashmir.[5]

Blessed by Guru Arjun.

Reaches Lahore.

Checked.

[3] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 52, 54, 55, 59. Iqbalnama, 9, 10.
Maasir-i-Jahangiri (Khuda Bakhsh MS.), 41—3.
K. K., I. 249, 250, 251. Intikhab-i-Jahangirshahi (E. and D.), VI. 448.
Gladwin, 4, 5, 6. Du Jarric, ch. XVII.
Price's Jahangir (p. 70, Bangabasi edition, Calcutta, 121) puts bitter laments in the mouth of Khusrau at the behaviour of his followers in quartering themselves on the villagers. Rajput tradition, as pressrved by Tod, II. 287, credits Raja Man Singh with inciting Khusrau's revolt.

[4] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 72. Sikh tradition has it that Khusrau had been nominated to the throne by Akbar; that he was then on his way to Kabul; that he implored Arjun for precuniary assistance. 'The Guru said he had money for the poor, but not for princes. Khusrau replied that he himself was now very poor, needy, and unfriended, and had not even travelling expenses.' Guru Arjun then gave him 5,000 rupees. See Macauliffe, Sikh Religion, vol. III, 84-5. Cunningham's History of the Sikhs (ed. Garrett), p. 53. Dabistan, II. 273. Jahangir says that Arjun marked the qashqa or tika on Khusrau's forehead.

[5] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 62.
Iqbalnama, 10, 11.
K. K., I. 251. M. U. (Beveridge), I. 488.
Gladwin, 6, 7.

The raw levies of Khusrau far outnumbered the soldiers within the city, but they had not the slightest tincture of training and discipline. As a modern historian has remarked of another rebel army, 'nothing can be more helpless than a raw cavalry, consisting of yeomen and tradesmen mounted on cart horses and post horses.' Khusrau burnt one of the outer gates, but Dilawar promptly threw up a wall and defeated all designs of an assault.

Lays siege to the city.

The prince had sat in vain for nine days when he learnt that the Imperial army had arrived within striking distance.[6]

Khusrau's disappearance had been discovered within a few hours. A lamp-lighter, perhaps finding the prince's apartments vacant, communicated his suspicions to the Wazirulmulk, who promptly conveyed the information to the Amir-ul-umara, Sharif Khan. The latter called at once at the Imperial palace. Jahangir came out, learnt the unexpected news, and asked whether he should himself join the pursuit or send Prince Khurram. Sharif offered his own services. The emperor consented. The Amir-ul-umara asked what he should do, if the worst came to the worst. Jahangir replied that kingship knew no kinship, and that he had the fullest powers of treating the prince as the exigencies of the situation demanded. On second thoughts, the emperor transferred the command of the pursuing force to the valiant Shaikh Farid.

Jahangir's pursuit.

It was believed by many that Khusrau would fly to Raja Man Singh in Bengal, but the scouts soon discovered with certainty that he had taken the Punjab road. It was then suspect-

Lahore is situated in lat. 31° 34′ 5″ N. long. 74° 21′ E. For contemporary accounts, see Ain (Jarrett), II. 312. Monserrate, Commentarius, 159-160. De Laet (tr. Lethbridge, *Calcutta Review,* 1871, LII. pp. 77-78). Finch, Purchas, IV. 52. Steel and Crowther, Purchas IV. 269. Terry, p. 76. For later seventeenth century accounts, Tavernier, I. 94-5.

Also Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh (tr. Sarkar, India of Aurangzeb, 79—81). Among modern accounts. Latif's Lahore. Its History, Architecture, Remains, and Antiquities is the fullest, though rather diffuse.

[6] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 62.
Iqbalnama, II. K. K., I. 251.
Gladwin, p. 7.
M. U. (Beveridge), I. 488.

ed that he would seek shelter with Uzbegs or Persians, and an immediate pursuit was resolved on. Early next morning orders of recall were issued to the forces which had been despatched against Mewar. Agra was placed in charge of Wazirulmulk and Itimad-ud-daulah. The emperor himself started in pursuit of Khusrau at the head of a large contingent. At Sikandara they captured the loitering Mirza Shahrukh, who revealed the plot, but who was, nevertheless, ignominiously paraded, handcuffed, on an elephant, and thrown into prison. On April 8 the Imperialists encamped at Hodal, where a few alterations were effected in the arrangements. Itimad-ud-daulah was recalled to the emperor's side and was replaced by Dost Muhammad at Agra. The sons of Mirza Muhammad Hakim were placed in confinement. An advance guard set off under Shaikh Farid, while the emperor was to follow at a short distance.

Farid did not rush at full speed, lest, perhaps, he should lose touch with the emperor. His rivals, Sharif Khan and Mahabat Khan, charged him with lukewarmness and even treachery, but the imputation was groundless. Pursuing the same route as Khusrau had taken, Farid marched on till he encamped at Sultanpur, on the Beas. Lest he should be caught between two fires, Khusrau left a detachment before Lahore and himself came out to offer battle at the head of ten thousand men.[7]

Futile negotiations.

Jahangir made an attempt at an amicable termination of the affair and sent Mir Jamaluddin Husain to persuade Khusrau to submit, but the negotiations failed. The issue of the approaching conflict could not be doubtful. Numbers were on the side of the

[7] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 52, 53, 54, 57, 63, 70, 73-4.
Iqbalnama, 9, 10, 11.
K. K., I. 250, 251.
M. U., III. 334. Gladwin, p. 6.
Price's Jahangir (p. 66, Bangabasi edition, pp. 114-15) has a long discourse on 'Kingship knows no kinship.'
Hodal lies in the modern district of Gurgaon in the Punjab, a few miles from the borders of Rajputana and the United Provinces. See Jarrett, II. 96, 195.
Sultanpur lies in the modern Sikh State of Kapurthala. See Jarrett, II. 110, 310, 317.

rebels, but, except the Badakhshi horse, they had no order or discipline, no good arms or accoutrements, no capable leader. On the eve of the battle the rains fell in torrents and drove them to seek shelter in the neighbouring villages. Next morning the paths were converted into mere quagmires. They returned as best they could and assembled in the plain of Bhairowal. The engagement was short, bloody, and decisive. The Sayyids of Barha, who formed the van, were cut to pieces by the Badakhshi horse, but the charge of the Imperialist right wing swept all before it. Four hundred Badakhshis and hundreds of less renowned rebels lay dead on the field. Among the survivors, all was confusion and despondency. Several hundreds fell into the hands of the Imperialists; the rest scattered to the four winds. Khusrau lost his box of jewels, to be picked up by his enemies.[8]

The battle of Bhairowal.

Khusrau defeated.

The prince himself escaped with Abdur Rahim and Husain Beg and their chief surviving adherents. They were keenly divided in their opinion as to the future course of action. The majority of the Indians, whose families resided in the plains, urged the advisability of galloping to Agra, capturing the head-quarters, throwing the heart of the empire into confusion, and, in case of failure, of flying to Raja Man Singh. This wild plan was opposed by Husain Beg, who argued in favour of a retreat to Kabul, the starting-point of Babur, Humayun, and all successful invaders of India. He offered to place his hoard of four lakhs of rupees (in the fort of Rohtas) at the disposal of his confederates if his advice were taken. He confidently hoped to raise ten or twelve thousand Mughal horse, and to entrench themselves strongly at Kabul or to attempt a successful *coup de main* on India.[9]

Escapes.

Husain Beg's counsel was adopted by the prince, at the cost of the desertion of his Afghan and Indian followers. With his

[8] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 64, 65.
Iqbalnama, 11, 12, K. K., I. 251.

[9] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 65, 66.
Iqbalnama, 13, 14.
K. K., I. 252.

few remaining comrades he stole his way towards the west. But the ferries and fords were strongly guarded. Raja Basu was out in the northern direction to intercept the rebels. Mahabat Khan and Mirza Ali Akbarshahi were scouring the whole country round with the same purpose. All the karoris and chaudharis and jagirdars were on the alert. Jahangir himself was prepared to give chase if the prince turned towards Afghanistan.[10]

Captured.

On their way to Rohtas, Khusrau, Husain Beg, Abdur Rahim, and a few other adherents got, under cover of the dark, at the ferry of Shahpur on the Chenab and, finding no boat there, moved off to Sodharah. Here they saw two boats, one laden with fuel and hay and the other without men. Husain Beg attempted to transfer the rowers of the former to the latter, but he was interrupted by the chance arrival of Kilan, son-in-law of Kamal, chaudhari of Sodharah, who gave the alarm. A crowd gathered on the bank. Neither entreaties nor threats, neither gold nor arrows, would induce the boatmen to ferry the distressed party over. A mounted guard under Abul Qasim Namkin appeared on the scene. The rebels hastily took the boat themselves and rowed down till they ran aground in the early hours of the morn. By this time both the banks were lined with sentinels and troops. As the day dawned, the Imperialists got into the water in boats and on elephants and secured the shipwrecked party. Abul Qasim Namkin conveyed them at once under a strong escort to the town of Gujerat.[11]

Jahangir, who had established himself in Mirza Kamran's garden at Lahore,[12] was delighted with the tidings and despatch-

[10] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 65-6.
Iqbalnama, 13, 14.

[11] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 66-67.
Iqbalnama, 14.
K. K., I. 252.
Gladwin, 8, 9. Sodharah lies in the modern district of Gujarawala. See Jarrett, II. 110.

[12] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 68.
Iqbalnama, 13.
M. U. (Beveridge), I, 524.
Jahangir had established himself here on April 28, 1606.

ed Sharif to fetch the captives. On May 1, the latter were brought into the city. The populace and the court alike were deeply stirred and waited in anxious suspense to know the fate reserved for the prince. Jahangir himself was over-whelmed with sorrow and retired to a private room to weep out his feelings. He burst into tears at the thought of the strife within his family. Then he collected himself and convened a darbar. The officers and courtiers stationed themselves, each in his place, with the gentry and the commonalty at a distance. The emperor seated himself on the throne. They ushered in Prince Khusrau, handcuffed and enchained, trembling and weeping, with Husain Beg on his right and Abdur Rahim on his left. The scene melted the hearts of all. Khusrau attempted to prostrate himself before His Majesty, but was sternly told to stand in his place. Husain Beg attempted to clear himself but was commanded to keep silent. Jahangir bitterly reproached Khusrau and ordered him into confinement.[13]

Brought to Lahore.

To Court.

Reprimanded, imprisoned.

Barbarous punishments were meted out to the prince's followers. Husain Beg was sown in the fresh skin of an ox and Abdur Rahim in that of an ass, with horns obtruding. Seated on asses with their faces turned to the tail, they were paraded through the streets of Lahore. Husain Beg was suffocated to death within twelve hours, but Abdur Rahim's situation was stealthily eased by his powerful courtier-friends. After an intense suffering of twenty-four hours he was pardoned and restored to his old dignities.[14] A few days later a long line of gibbets appeared on each

Barbarous punishment of the rebels.

[13] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 68.
Iqbalnama, 16.
K. K., I. 253.
Du Jarric, ch. XVII. Hosten's 'Annual Relation of Father Fernao Guerrerio for 1607-8.' Journal of the Punjab Historical Society, Vol. VII. No. I. pp. 56-57.

[14] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 68-69.
Iqbalnama, 16. K. K., I. 253.
Du Jarric, ch. XVII. Father Hosten's 'Annual Relation, etc., Journal of the Punjab Historical Society, Vol. VIII. No. 1, p. 57.

side of the road leading from Mirza Kamran's garden to the city of Lahore. On each gibbet appeared a prisoner impaled on the stake, writhing in agony. To complete the tale of barbarity, Prince Khusrau was led on an elephant through the ranks and was asked, in inhuman mockery, to receive the homage of his followers. The prince's gentle soul was pierced with grief, sharp and well-nigh unbearable. He passed several days weeping, in anguish. His lacerated heart refused all soothing and healing. On those soft and pleasing features which had won so many hearts, there settled a profound melancholy which never left them.

Milder punishments were inflicted on two of his followers who had taken advantage of his revolt to plunder the people of Lahore. Amba was let off with a fine of Rs. 15,000, which was distributed in charity, while his associate Raju was put to death.[15]

Tragedy of Guru Arjun.

A far nobler victim was the Sikh Guru, Arjun, to whom posterity owes an eternal debt of gratitude for his compilation of the sayings and writings of his spiritual predecessors. Born at Govindwal in 1563, the youngest son of the fourth Sikh Guru, Ram Das, had, from a boy, been remarkable for an intensely spiritual nature and a deeply contemplative turn of mind. In preference

[15] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 69, 73.
Iqbalnama, 17, K. K., I. 253.
Blochmann, 454-55.

The number of the victims impaled has been variously estimated. Du Jarric (ch. XVII.) gives 200, which appears to come nearest the truth. Terry (p. 410) relying on popular report gives 800. Price's Jahangir (88, Bangabasi edition, Calcutta, 153-54) gloats over the sufferings of the poor men, but the real Jahangir only mentions the fact. The Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh says that the prince almost wished to die when he beheld the sufferings of his followers. The European travellers give extraordinarily perverted accounts of the revolt based on later bazaar gossip. Terry (p. 410) has it that Khusrau actually ascended the throne at Lahore and was acknowledged by the people. He represents Khusrau as reproaching Jahangir with punishing innocent men while leaving him safe. See also Hawkins. Purchas IV. 51. Finch, Purchas III. 38. Della Valle, I. 56, Peter Mundy, 103—5. The account in De Laet (tr. Lethbridge, *Calcutta Review*, LII. 1871, p. 77) is very brief and very misleading. See also Tod, II. 287. Tod says that after the revolt Jahangir inflicted on Man Singh the enormous fine of ten crores of rupees.

to his elder brother, the worldly Prithi Chand, commonly known as Prithia, he was selected to succeed his father in 1581. The fierce flames of jealousy dried up all the springs of fraternal and human feeling in the heart of Prithia. Spurred on by his wife, a stranger to the softer emotions of the famale heart, he intrigued and conspired, restlessly and incessantly, for the ruin of his brother. He found a worthy co-adjutor in a government official, Chandu, who harboured a deep animosity against Arjun for refusing to accept his daughter for his son. In perfect calm and composure, Arjun went on with his spiritual duties. He founded the holy city of Tarn Taran, established the temple of God (Har Mandar) and constructed the famous tank at Amritsar. Above all, he collected the stories, hymns and sayings of the Gurus as well as of Hindu and Muslim reformers and, adding his own inspired compositions, produced the Adi Granth. His fame and influence spread far and wide; his disciples grew in numbers, to the chagrin and mortification of orthodox Hindu and Muslim priests. They charged him, before Akbar, with libels and calumnies on their religions, but an examination of the Adi Granth convinced the emperor of the exemplary piety of Arjun. On the death of Akbar the kind-hearted Guru fell into the mistake of blessing the distressed rebel prince. His enemies made the utmost of the opportunity presented to them. To Jahangir they represented his treason and impiety with all the colour that personal malice and fanatical hatred could impart. Prithia died at this juncture, but his mantle fell on his worthy son, Mihraban. The emperor was at first disposed to take a lenient view of the affair, but he fell at last into the snares of Arjun's enemies. The Guru was sentenced to death and to confiscation of his property including his hermitage.[16] The melancholy tran-

[16] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 72-73. For the life of Guru Arjun, Macauliffe's Sikh Religion, Vol. II. 253-58. Vol. III. 1-101. For his hymns, pp. 102—444. See also Cunningham's History of the Sikhs (ed. Jarret), pp. 51-53.

Gokul Chand Narang's Transformation of Sikhism, pp. 31—41. Sikh tradition has reared an elaborate structure of fable on the incident of Arjun's death.

saction has been represented by Sikh tradition as the first of the long series of religious persecutions which the Khalsa suffered from the Mughal emperors. In reality, it is nothing of the kind. Without minimizing the gravity of Jahangir's mistake, it is only fair to recognize that the whole affair amounts to a single execution, due primarily to political reasons. No other Sikhs were molested. No interdict was laid on the Sikh faith. Guru Arjun himself would have ended his days in peace if he had not espoused the cause of a rebel.

Jahangir, summoning the Guru before him, is represented as saying, 'Thou art a great saint, a great teacher and holy man, thou lookest on rich and poor alike. It was therefore not proper for thee to give money to my enemy, Khusrau.' 'I regard all people,' replied Arjun, 'whether Hindu or Mussalman, rich or poor, friend or foe, without love or hate; and it is on this account that I gave thy son some money for his journey, and not because he was in opposition to thee. If I had not assisted him in his forlorn condition, and so shown some regard for the kindness of thy father, the emperor Akbar, to myself, all men would despise me for my heartlessness and ingratitude, or they would say that I was afraid of thee. This would have been unworthy of a follower of Guru Nanak, the world's Guru.' Then Jahangir condemned Arjun to pay a fine of two lakhs of rupees and commanded him to erase from his Granth hymns, that were opposed to the Hindu or Mussalman faiths. 'Whatever money I have,' replied Arjun, 'is for the poor, the friendless and the stranger. If thou ask for money thou mayest take what I have; but if thou ask for it by way of fine, I shall not give thee even a kauri (shell), for a fine is imposed on wicked, worldly persons, and not on priests and anchorites. And as to what thou hast said regarding the erasure of hymns in the Granth Sahib, I cannot erase or alter an iota. I am a worshipper of the Immortal God, the Supreme Soul of the world. There is no monarch save Him; and what He revealed to the Gurus, from Guru Nanak to Guru Ram Das, and afterwards to myself, is written in the holy Granth Sahib. The hymns which find a place in it are not disrespectful to any Hindu incarnation or any Muhammadan prophet. It is ceratinly stated that prophets, priests and incarnations are the handwork of the Immortal God, whose limit none can find. My main object is the spread of truth and the destruction of falsehood, and if, in pursuance of this object, this perishable body must depart, I shall account it great good fortune.'

The emperor made no reply, but rose and left the hall of audience. After this a magistrate informed the Guru that he must pay the fine or be imprisoned in default. Arjun peremptorily forbade his followers to raise any subscription for the payment of the fine. When the Qazis and Pandits offered his freedom in return for erasing the objectionable passages in his work, he replied, 'The Granth Sahib hath been compiled to confer on men happiness and not misery in this world and the next. It is impossible to write it anew, and make the omissions and alterations you require.' His enemies put him to torture which the Guru bore with per-

If the retribution for treason was severe, the rewards for loyal service were magnificent. Shaikh Farid Bokhari received the lofty title of Murtaza Khan. Bhaironwal, the scene of his triumph, was named Fathabad and bestowed in jagir on the victor. Mahabat Khan was promoted to 2,000 zat and 1,300 suwar, and Dilawar Khan to 2,000 and 1,400. Every chaudhari between the Jhelam and the Chenab was rewarded in land. Every jagirdar who had contributed at all to the suppression of the revolt, received suitable recognition of his services.[17]

Rewards for loyal service.

Khusrau's revolt was stamped out within less than a month but, following so close on Akbar's death, it served to kindle a few disturbances in various parts of the empire. Ray Ray Singh of Bikanir, a mansabdar of 5,000 and one of the highest of Rajput nobles, had been associated with the Imperial representatives at Agra

The disaffection of Ray Ray Singh in Rajputana.

fect equanimity and silence, uttering neither sigh nor groan. When offered another opportunity to recant, he replied fearlessly, 'O fools, I shall never fear this treatment of yours. It is all according to God's will; wherefore this torture only affordeth me pleasure.' Further torture followed—all, without the knowledge, much less the sanction of the emperor. At length, one day the Guru obtained permission to bathe in the river and gave up the ghost on the river's bank.

For the Sikh account of the life of Guru Arjun, see Macauliffe, II. pp. 253—85 (during the lifetime of his father) and Vol. III. pp. 1—101. For his hymns, some of which are extremely fine and elevating, Vol. III. pp. 102—444.

The Dabistan-i-Mazahib says that Guru Arjun, unable to pay the fins imposed on him by Jahangir was imprisoned in Lahore and died from the heat and from the tortures of those who were commissioned to realize the fine.

The emperor is quite positive in his statement that he sentenced the Guru to death and confiscation of property. But he prefixes the significant sentence, 'When this came to my ears and I clearly understood his folly,' which implies that he was acted on by others. In spite of the contempt which Jahangir pours over the Guru on religious grounds, there can be no doubt that the execution was due solely to political reasons.

17 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 69, 77.
Iqbalnama, 16, 17.
K. K., I. 253.
Gladwin, p. 10.

Du Jarric (ch. XVII.), says that Jahangir took a number of rebel captives to Agra for a public spectacle. But the statement is not corroborated by any other writer. Jahangir marched from Lahore not to Agra but to Kabul.

in April, 1606. Shortly after he was told to escort the royal ladies to the Punjab. At Muttra he deserted his charge, retired to Bikanir, and raised the standard of revolt in the neighbourhood of Nagor. For a time he and his son, Dalpat Singh, were masters of the locality. But Jahangir directed the forces of the Mewar expedition to dispose of the rebels. Raja Jagannath, son of Raja Bharmal, headed the punitive expedition with Muiz-zul-mulk the bakhshi as second in command. Ray Ray Singh attempted to elude the royal forces, but was caught up by a detachment near Nagor. The encounter which followed broke the backbone of the rebels and scattered them. Ray Ray Singh was captured but, after a while, was pardoned and restored to his dignities and estates.[18]

Sangram of Bihar.

Sangram, a petty chief in Bihar, who could gather 4,000 horse and a larger number of foot, had broken into revolt shortly after Khusrau's flight. He was brought to bay by Jahangir Quli Khan, governor of Bihar, defeated with heavy loss in an engagement and fatally wounded by a gunshot.[19]

But the most remarkable result of the internal disturbances in India was to encourage the Shah of Persia to a bid for the mighty fortress of Qandahar.

18 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 76, 84, 130, 131.
Blochmann, 357-9, 387.
Gladwin, 12.

19 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 82, 83.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VI

THE CHRONOLOGY KHUSRAU'S REVOLT

Hijri Dates	Ilahi Dates	Christian Dates		Khusrau's Movements	Jahangir's Movements
1014	1	1606			
Zilhijja ..	Farwardin	April	Day		
8	28	6	Sunday ..	Khusrau's flight	Starts in pursuit.
9	29	7	Monday ..	..	Alights in a village in the pargana of 'Mathura.
10	30	8	Tuesday ..	..	Alights at Hodal.
11	31	9	Wednesday	..	Alights at Palwal.
12	Urdibihisht 1	10	Thursday..	..	Alights at Faridabad. Mirza Husain and Nuruddin, two officers, enter Lahore.
13	2	11	Friday ..	..	Jahangir reaches Delhi.
14	3	12	Saturday..	..	Stays at Sarai Narela. A messenger of Delawar Khan enters Lahore.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF KHUSRAU'S REVOLT—(*contd.*)

A. H.	Ilahi	A. D.		Khusrau's Movement	Jahangir's Movements
1014	1	1606			
Zilhijja	Urdibihist	April	Day		
16	5	14	Monday ..	..	Reaches pargana Panipat. Delawar Khan enters Lahore Fort with a few men.
17	6	15	Tuesday ..	...	Reaches pargana Karnal.
18	7	16	Wednesday	Khusrau arrives and lays siege to Lahore.	..
19	8	17	Thursday..	..	Reaches pargana Shahabad.
24	13	22	Tuesday ..	Five of Khusrau's attendants captured.	..
25	14	23	Wednesday	Khusrau marches out to offer battle.	..
26	15	24	Thursday..	Khusrau's marching out to offer battle is reported to Jahangir.	..
..	..	..	..	Battle of Bhaironwal.	..

28	17	26	Saturday ..	Arrives on the Chenab ..	Encamps at Jaipal.
29	18	27	Sunday ..	Captured	..
30	19	28	Monday ..	..	News of Khusrau's capture reaces. Jahangir.
1015	Muharram	May			
3	22	1	Thursday..	Brought before Jahangir in Mirza Kamran's garden.	..
30th Zilhijja to 9th Muharram.	19th to 28th Urdihihist	28th April to 7th May	..	..	Jahangir remains in Mirza Kamran's garden.
9	28th Urdibihisht.	..	Wednesday	..	Jahangir enters Lahore.

CHAPTER VII

QANDAHAR—JAHANGIR'S MARCH TO KABUL —PLOT TO ASSASSINATE JAHANGIR —PATNA OUTBREAK

BOUNDED on the north and east by a low line of hills, on the south by a dreary desert, the 'very apotheosis of desolation,' and on the west by a sandy, barren, burning plain which stretches far into Persia, the province of Qandahar itself forms a snug, fertile, well-watered vale, 3,000 feet above the level of the sea.[1] Thanks to the natural vantage, its principal city has from time immemorial been a centre of commerce. During the Middle Ages it ranked as an international mart of the first importance. Here the merchants from Persia and India, Turkey and Central Asia, gathered to strike bargains with one another. The Indian trade caravans destined for the west, joined into a mighty stream at Lahore and passed, under armed escort, through the wild north-western tribeland, to Qandahar, to meet a similar congregation from Persia. Here numbers of camels might be hired for passage in any direction. Portuguese atrocities on the high seas and the closing of the Ormuz route of commerce immensely augmented the trade which passed through Qandahar. In the early years of the seventeenth century, nearly fourteen thousand camels passed annually from

Situation of Qandahar.

Its commercial importance.

1 Jarrett, II. 394-5. Steel and Crowther, Purchas IV. 272-3.
Salbancke, Purchas III. 85.
De Laet, Lethbridge, *Calcutta Review*, LI. 1870, p. 96.
Sir Thomas Holdich's Gates of India, p. 528.
Masson's Journeys, I. 280.
Sarkar's Auranzeb, I. 126. *Imperial Gazetteer*, I. 12.

'All Persia, specially between this (Qandahar) and Spahan,' remark Steel and Crowther, 'is barren, where sometimes, in two or three days' travel, there is no green thing to be seen; only some water and that also often brackish, stinking, and naught.'

The people of the habitable part of Baluchistan have a proverb, that when God made the earth. He left the rubbish in Baluchistan.

India *via* Qandahar into Persia. The petty chiefs and magnates all over the immense route fleeced the merchants, but could deduct only a fraction of the enormous profits. A camel-load cost something between 120 and 130 rupees, but the venture was more than compensated. The vast concourse at Qandahar raised the prices of provisions and enriched the citizens. Suburbs sprang up in the environs. The flourishing commerce even affected the predatory border tribes. They would often exchange sheep, goats, and grains for coarse linen and other manufactured articles.[2]

Its strategic importance.

The position that made Qandahar an eminent commercial centre made it also a strategic point of the first importance. Its master can surprise Kabul at a dash. It forms one of the two gates of India, one of the two natural bases of operations for a Persian or Central Asian army against India. It is an outpost which every Indian Government must either control or contrive to place in friendly hands.

Its history during the reign of Babur.

The double value of Qandahar was clearly perceived by the surrounding States in the Middle Ages. Only a few years after his conuqest of Kabul, Babur annexed Qandahar in 1522 and never relaxed his hold. On his death in 1530 it passed into the hands of his second son, Kamran. While an exile at the Persian court,

Humayun.

Humayun perceived, as well as his host, the paramount necessity of controlling Qandahar as a first step to the recovery of Kabul and India. The Shah consented to help Humayun with an army of 10,000 men on condition that Qandahar should be handed over to him. Humayun was, on the whole, an honest, straightforward man, but the importance of the interests at stake conquered his integrity. He took Qandahar and, on the flimsiest of pretexts, refused to perform his promise. On his death, however, Qandahar passed easily into Persian hands and in 1558 was entrusted to the care of

[2] Steel and Crowther, Purchas IV. 269, 272-73.
Salbancke, Purchas III. 85.
For 'the route from Ispahan to Agra by Qandahar' see Tavernier (ed. Ball), I. 90-103.

Sultan Husain Mirza. A generation later, the Mughal empire rose anew with unprecedented vigour and prosperity, and felt the need of the invaluable western outpost. Akbar proposed that Abdur Rahim Khan Khana should follow up his conquests of Sindh and Baluchistan by an attack on Qandahar. But fortune forestalled the Mughals.

Akbar.

Qandahar was subject to constant depredations from the Uzbegs. The commandant, Muzaffar Husain, son and successor of Sultan Husain, found his resources unequal to the occasion and repeatedly requested his master for succour. But the hands of the Persian king were too busy elsewhere. Finding his position untenable, Muzaffar consented in 1594 to surrender his charge into the hands of the Mughals. Thus, all through the sixteenth century, Qandahar was a bone of contention between the two remarkable dynasties, the Mughals and the Safavis, that ruled India and Persia. In the first years of the seventeenth century the Persians bided their time, when the death of Akbar and the revolt of Prince Khusrau furnished a splendid opportunity.[3]

Surrendered to Akbar.

The throne of Persia was now occupied by the greatest king of the greatest Persian dynasty of the Middle Ages. Ismail, the founder of the Safavi line, challenges comparison with Babur, the first of the Indian Mughals. His son, Shah Tahmasp, sheltered the monarch of India and defeated the Sultan of Turkey. In 1587 his crown passed to Shah Abbas, who ranks amongst the greatest men of a century fertile in great men. He was a tall, fair, handsome man, with 'clean-cut features, keen eyes, and large moustaches.' His courage was cool, his powers of endurance marvellous. Amiable in his private life, he was pitiless

Shah Abbas, 1587-1629.

3 For the history of Qandahar during the reigns of Babur. Humayun and Akbar, see Babur's Memoirs, Abul Fazl's Akbarnama, Elias and Ross, Erskine, etc. For the Persian side, see the Alam Arai Abbasi.

'The wise of ancient times,' says Abul Fazl, 'considered Kabul and Qandahar as the twin gates of Hindustan, the one leading to Turkestan and the other to Persia. The custody of these highways secured India from foreign invaders; and they are likewise the appropriate portals to foreign travel.' Ain, II. Jarrett, 404.

and inexorable in his public activities. Far in advance of his times in ideas, he was remarkable for breadth and sanity of outlook, an eye for opportunity, and resolute promptness to make the best of it. On occasion, he was capable of the most tortuous diplomacy and shameless falsehood. He found his country threatened on one side by the Turks and by the Uzbegs on the other. He concluded an unfavourable peace with the former in 1590, stemmed the Uzbeg tide, consolidated his power, husbanded his resources, and then turned successfully on the Turks. He thoroughly reorganized his army and formed a royal guard of ten thousand cavalry and twelve thousand infantry. He founded an order of 'Friends of the Shah' devoted to his interest. Like all born rulers of men, he had a passion for order, justice, and efficient government. Some of the roads and bridges which he laid out or repaired may still be seen.[4] It was not long before the gifted master of the glory of the Muslim world acquired wide fame and high prestige throughout the eastern world.

Instigates the siege of Qandahar, 1606.

Such was the man with whom Jahangir had to deal all through his reign. In 1606 Shah Abbas, while himself engaged in the Turkish War, secretly directed his border officers and jagirdars, specially the governors of Herat, Farah and Seistan and the captains of the forces stationed in Khorasan, to muster together and storm Qandahar. A disorderly host of Persians soon infested the fort, but the commandant, the able and experienced Shah Beg Khan, had already got an inkling of their designs, had prepared for a siege, and had sent for urgent reinforcements. His humour, familiarity of address, social manners, and generosity of heart had secured to him the warm loyalty of the garrison. He displayed his contempt of the enemy by holding jocose parties on the very top of the citadel within the gaze of the enemy. Every day he sent out a sortie to harass the besiegers.

Defence by Shah Beg Khan.

[4] For the rise of the Safavi dynasty, see Sykes 'History of Persia, II. pp. 240-55. For Shah Abbas, Sykes, II. 256-95. Malcolm's History of Persia. It is remarkable that Terry (Voyage to East India, 151-152) derives the origin of the word Shabas (well done) from the name of the contemporary Persian monarch.

Early in February, 1607, the Mughal relieving force reached the environs of Qandahar. It was commanded by Mirza Ghazi, son of Mirza Jani Beg Tarkhan, a prodigy in youth, an elegant versifier, perfect soldier, talented commander, sagacious counsellor, and experienced administrator. Under him served Khwaja Aqil as the paymaster of the force, and several noted officers, such as Qara Khan and Sardar Khan. Jahangir had taken care to see that the expedition was well supplied with arms and with money. Rs. 43,000 had been set apart for the expenses of the march alone.

Jahangir sends a relieving force.

The approach of the relieving force struck terror into the Persian host. Raising the siege in precipitate haste, they hurried towards the Persian border.[5]

The Persians raise the siege.

Foiled in his designs, the Persian king professed stern indignation at his subjects who attempted, wihout his knowledge, to embroil him with his dear brother, the Mughal emperor. He despatched Husain Beg to assure Jahangir that he had nothing but detestation for the conduct of the ill-fated recalcitrant borderers, that he had tried to repress their turbulence at the very first news and he hoped that the incident would leave no unpleasantness behind. Unwilling to enter on hostilities, Jahangir professed to be satisfied with these explanations, but he posted a strong garrison of 15,000 horse in Qandahar under the command of Mirza Ghazi.[6]

Shah Abbas disowns the enterprise.

[5] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 70-1, 85-6, 126.
Iqbalnama, 17-18.
K. K., I. 255.
Gladwin, p. 10.
Blochmann, 377-78.
It is said that during the progress of the siege, the governor of Herat sent an envoy into the fort. Though provisions had run short, Shah Beg spread all available corn in the streets and deceived the enemy.

[6] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 85-86, 90, 112.
Iqbalnama, 18.
Gladwin, 10.
Steel and Crowther, Purchas IV. 273.

The Qandahar affair was over in March, 1607. Jahangir resolved to spend the ensuing summer on the cool heights of Kabul. Leaving Qulij Khan,[7] Miran Sadr Jahan,[8] and Mir Sharif Amuli[9] in charge of affairs at Lahore, he set out on March 27, with his wives and children, officials and troops. Hunting, enjoying himself, and transacting State business on the way, he alighted at the Shahrara gardens on June 3, scattering silver in profusion and entered Kabul in state the next day.[10]

Jahangir leaves for Kabul.

Enters the city.

[7] Qulij Khan, the tactful officer, who had refused to surrender the fort of Agra to Prince Salim in 1600, had, on Jahangir's accession, been appointed to the governorship of Gujerat. Next year, however, he was called to the Punjab. He was famed for his piety and learning and poetic talents. As Blochmann points out, some of his verses may be found in the concluding chapter of the Miratul Alam, a notable Persian MS. history by Bakhtawar Khan.

[8] Miran Sadr Jahan had once been entrusted with the conduct of negotiations between Akbar and Prince Salim. Jahangir raised him to the mansab of 4,000 and granted him Qanauj in tuyul. As Sadr under Jahangir, he is said to have given away more lands in five years than under Akbar in fifty. He died in 1020 A.H. (1611 A.D.), at the age, it is believed, of 120 years. His faculties remained unimpaired to the last.' Blochmann, 468.

[9] Mir Sharif Amuli was one of the boldest and most noted free-thinkers of the time, who had to fly from country to country. He had studied Sufism in the school of Maulana Muhammad Zahid of Balkh. When forced to flee from the Deccan, where he had taken refuge, he migrated to the court of Akbar in 1577 (984 A.H.), and won the exquisite hatred of the bigoted Mulla Abdul Qadir Badauni who lavishes boundless abuse on him. He gained the friendship of Akbar who often talked to him privately on religious problems. See also Blochmann, pp. 176-77.

In 1585, when, on the death of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, Kabul was definitely annexed to the empire of Akbar, Sharif was appointed Amin and Sadr of the province. Later he served in Behar, Bengal, and the Deccan. On his accession Jahangir promoted him to 2,500.

'He is a pure-hearted, lively-spirited man,' writes Jahangir, as if deliberately and emphatically to contradict Badauni; 'though he has no tincture of current sciences, lofty words and exalted knowledge often manifest themselves in him. In the dress of a faqir he made many journeys, and he has friendship with many saints and recites the maxims of those who profess mysticism.....His utterance is extremely powerful, and his conversation is remarkably eloquent and pure, although he is without Arabic. His compositions also are not devoid of verse.' Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 47-48. Also Blochmann, p. 452. M. U., III. 285.

[10] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 90-108.
Maasir-i-Jahangiri (Khuda Bakhsh MS.), 49, 50.

Kabul forms one of the finest of ancient cities. It was fortified by double ramparts and works noted for their strength.

Kabul.

But its principal charm lay in the surrounding groves, gardens, and orchards, watered by sparkling streams and canals with delightful embankments. The picturesque beauty of the hills, the freshness of the verdure, the cool breezes makes it a corner of paradise. It formed

Jahangir's activities.

with Qandahar one of the two gates of India and ranked among the most important places in the north-west.[11] From here Jahangir directed the campaign against the predatory tribes of Bangash, but his eleven weeks' sojourn was remarkable chiefly for a few beneficent measures. Gardens were improved; trees were planted. The roads from Qandahar to Ghazni were rendered perfectly secure for travellers. The customs dues and charges levied at Kabul were abolished. A proclamation to this effect was engraved on a stone pillar in the Shahrara garden, invoking divine wrath on any of the emperor's successors who should presume to revive the dues.[12]

Towards the close of August 1607, Jahangir set out for

He leaves Kabul.

Lahore. He had not proceeded far when he learnt that an atrocious plot had been hatched to assassinate him on the hunting ground.

On the termination of his revolt, it had been arranged at Lahore that Khusrau should be guarded alternately by the Amir-

The major part of the army was left at Attock to await the royal return.

At Hasan Abdal, Jahangir put pearls into the noses of fishes and left them in the tank. (Memoirs, R. and B. I. 99.)

Travelling in 1611, William Finch notices that the fishes in the tank had gold rings hung in their noses by Akbar (Purchas IV. 58). Popular tradition perhaps ascribed Jahangir's act to the more famous father.

11 Jarrett, II. 403-4. De Laet (tr. Lethbridge, *Calcutta Review,* LI. 1870, p. 81). Tavernier (ed. Ball), I. 92. Elphinstone's Kabul.

12 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 108, 111-12.
Iqbalnama, 22.
Gladwin, 15.
Du Jarric, Ch. XVIII. 160-61.

ul-umara and Asaf Khan. During the turns of the latter, his nephew Nuruddin, one of the guard, would often converse with the prince for hours. A close friendship sprang up between the two youths. They resolved to seize the first favourable opportunity to liberate the prince and set up the standard of revolt once more. On the emperor's march to Kabul, the sickly Amir-ul-umara was left behind. Asaf Khan was installed as vizier and Khusrau was entrusted to the custody of a eunuch, Itibar Khan. To him, as to say many others, Khusrau's charming manners and address were irresistible. They entered into a conspiracy which was soon joined by another disaffected young noble man, Fathullah, son of Hakim Abul Fath. An active canvass secured some 400 accomplices, including Sharif, son of Itimad-ud-daulah and several other notables. Itibar Khan introduced them all, one by one, to Khusrau, to whom they swore fidelity and who invested them with a peculiar badge. At Kabul, Jahangir, moved by paternal feelings and probably by the importunities of the harem, took off the chains of Khusrau and permitted him the liberty of walking in the Shahrara garden. The clemency only facilitated the progress of the plot. As the royal camp moved from Kabul, the conspirators arranged that they should assassinate Jahangir on one of his hunting expeditions, seize the reins of government, and liberate Khusrau and proclaim him emperor. As the prince was highly popular with the multitude and as his cause was now espoused by many high personages, the design was not wholly impossible for fulfilment. But a secret confided to four hundred persons is not likely to remain a secret. Some one disclosed the whole conspiracy to Khwaja Wais, Diwan of Prince Khurram, who was only too glad to carry the information to Jahangir. At the same time, Asaf Khan learnt of the affair and comunicated the facts to Salabat Khan. Jahangir summoned the leaders of the conspiracy and, at the suggestion of Salabat Khan, promised amnesty to one of them, Mirza Muhammad Uzbeg. He related all he knew and furnished clues to further discoveries. A bundle of the letters of Itibar Khan was secured. The court trembled in dismay.

Plot to assassinate him.

Revealed.

But Salabat Khan earnestly counselled the emperor to desist from further inquiry, to burn the letters of Itibar Khan, and to forbear from exposing many a professed 'loyalist' to public shame. Jahangir was humane enough to accept the advice. Only four of the ring-leaders, Nuruddin, Itibar, Sharif and Bedagh Turkman, were executed. Abul Fath was seated on an ass with his face turned to the tail and paraded from house to house, stage to stage. Itimad-ud-daulah, father of Sharif, erroneously suspected to privity, confined for a while, but was ultimately released on payment of a fine of two lakhs of rupees.[13]

Jahangir's mildness.

'What to do with Khusrau?' was the problem. Neither Jahangir's heart, nor the Imperial ladies, nor the old nobility would consent to his execution. Yet to leave him merely in confinement was a course fraught with the gravest danger to the emperor and the empire. The counsellors, headed by Mahabat Khan, pressed that the prince should be blinded. Jahangir assented at last and commissioned Mahabat himself to perform the ghastly job. A piercing shriek came forth as the wire was put into the eyes of the prince. His sight, however, was not irreparably destroyed.

Khusrau blinded.

Jahangir resumed his march and after a short stay at Lahore reached Agra on March 22, 1608. Khusrau was confined in the palace and closely guarded, but Jahangir relented towards him and called the physicians to restore his sight. Hakim Sudra of Persia healed the vision of one of the eyes, but that of the other was permanently shortened and never entirely cured.[14]

Jahangir enters Agra.

Relents towards Khusrau.

13 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 111, 122-23.
Iqbalnama, 27, 28, 29, 30.
Maasir-i-Jahangiri (Khuda Bakhsh MS.), 52 (*a*) K. K., I. 150.
Du Jarric (Ch. XVIII), 160-61.
M. U. (Beveridge), I. 282-83, 110.
Gladwin, 15, 16.

14 Intikhab-i-Jahangirshahi (E. and D.), VI. 448, 449, 452.
Jahangir himself is completely silent about the matter in his Memoirs, nor does the court historian, Motmad Khan, refer to it. There can, however, be no doubt that the prince was blinded, though not completely and irremediably.

The vicissitudes of fortune and the suffierings which the prince underwent fixed him more than ever in the affections of the populace. A curious incident, which occurred in April, 1610, demonstrated the strength of the spell which his name had cast over the country.

The latter's popularity.

An obscure Muslim youth of Ujjaini in Bihar, named Qutb, personated the prince and gave out that he had escaped from prison. He sought to prove his identity by pointing at the scars which, he said, had been left by katories (cups) being fastened to his eyes. He gathered a large band round himself and marched on Patna, the capital of the province. The governor, Afzul Khan *alias* Abdur Rahman Khan, son of Abul Fazl, was absent on his jagirs in Kharackpur, and the supreme charge of the government rested in the hands of the paymaster, Shaikh Banarasi, and the finance minister, Ghiyas Beg. On the morning of Sunday, April

Outbreak at Patna, April, 1610.

According to the Jesuit accounts, the prince was blinded on the former battlefield (Govindwal) 'by moistening his eyes with a certain juice, resembling the sap of certain peas.' Father Hosten, as before: Journal of the Punjab Historical Society, p. 56.

Hawkins, who knows nothing of the conspiracy, but only gives a meagre inaccurate account of the revolt, says that Khusrau 'still remaineth still in prison in the king's palace, yet blind, as all men report; and was so commanded to be blinded by his father.' The Hawkins' Voyages, p. 428.

William Finch, who travelled in 1610-11, reports two traditions, current about the blinding. The emperor, when he returned to the place 'where the battle was fought (as some say), caused his eyes to be burnt out with a glass; others say, only blindfolded him with a napkin tying it behind, and sealing it with his own seal, which yet remaineth, and himselt prisoner in the castle of Agra.' Purchas, IV. 51. Dela Valle (Travels in India, Vol. I, p. 56) learnt that Khusrau's eyes were sewn up, but that Jahangir caused them 'to be unripped again, so that he was not blinded but saw again and it was only a temporary penance.'

There was yet another myth to the effect that katories (small cups) were fastened on the eyes so that the prince, when these were taken off, could see again. Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 174.

Tavernier (I. 334-35) says that the Prince's sight was destroyed 'by ordering a hot iron to be passed over his eyes after the Persian fashion.'

There was thus a mystery as regards the affair. The people at large knew that the prince had been deprived of sight, at least temporarily, but did not know how the process had been effected.

After weighing all available evidence, my conclusion is that the version of the Intikhab-i-Jahangirshahi comes nearer the truth than any other. The author writes with inside knowledge.

18, they were surprised by the insurgents. Like the cowards they were at heart, they escaped by a wicket-gate down the Ganges to Kharackpur. Qutub promptly occupied the fort, and seized the royal treasury and the governor's property. For a week he dominated the city and recruited large numbers of men to his standard.

No sooner was Afzul Khan apprised of these shameful happenings than he hurried to Patna at the head of his armed followers. Qutb left a garrison in the fort and marched out in embattled array to encounter the governor. A slight skirmish on the bank of the Pun Pun decided the day. The rebels retreated pell-mell into the fort, hotly chased by Afzul Khan. Qutb and his principal followers got into the governor's fortified residence and defended themselves gallantly for nine hours. No less than thirty Imperialist soldiers had fallen before the small band was forced to surrender at discretion. Qutb was executed and many of his followers imprisoned.

Jahangir was indignant at the cowardice shown by Shaikh Banarasi and Mirza Ghiyas. They were summoned to the court, shaved off their hair and beards, dressed in female attire, mounted on asses, and paraded through the city of Agra ,as a warning and example to all.'[15]

[15] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 173-76.
Iqbalnama, 42-4. Maasir-i-Jahangiri (Khuda Bakhsh MS.), 65 (*b*).
K. K., I. 261.
M. U. (Beveridge), I. 67-68.
Gladwin, 20-21.
For contemporary Patna, see Ralph Fitch, 109–11. Purchas, X. 158.
Abdul Latif (a contemporary tourist) tr. J. N. Sarkar, in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. V. 1919, pp. 599-600. De Laet (tr. Lethbridge, *Calcutta Review,* LI. 1870, p. 90).
Hughes and Parker in English Factories in India, 1618-21, p. 212.
Peter Mundy, II. 151. Bowrey, 221-22. Tavernier, I. Part II. 53.
Abdur Rahman was appointed governor of Bihar in 1607 (Iqbalnama 33), in succession to Islam Khan, who was sent to Bengal to succeed Jahangir Quli Khan. His jagir is erroneously named as Gorakhpur in certain MSS.
The impersonation of princes was by no means a rare event in the seventeenth century. The reign of Aurangzeb was more than once disturbed by impostors.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VII

CHRONOLOGY AND STAGES OF JAHANGIR'S MARCH FROM LAHORE TO KABUL

A. H.	A. D.		Stages
1015	1607		
Zilhijja ...	March	Day	
7	20	Thursday	Jahangir leaves Lahore.
7-11	26-30	..	Stays in the Dilamez Garden on the other side of the Ravi.
11	30	Monday ..	Encamps of Harhar.
12	31	Tuesday ..	Jahangirpur.
	April		
4	2	Thursday..	Encamps at pargana Chandel.
16	4	Saturday ..	Hafizabad. Stays in the stationerected by the Karori Mir Qayamuddin,
21		Thursday	Crosses the Chenab.
22	10	Friday ..	Khawaspur.
22-29	10-17	Friday—Friday	Crossing the Bahat Bridge rebuilt.
1016			
Muharram			
1	18	Saturday	Leaves the Bihat.
3	20	Monday ..	Rohtas.
4	21	Tuesday ..	Tila.
6	23	Thursday	Hatya.
7	24	Friday ...	Pakka.
8	25	Saturday	Khar.
9	26	Sunday ..	Beyond Rawalpindi.
10	27	Monday ..	Kharbuza.
11	28	Tuesday	Kalapani.
12	29	Wednesday	Baba Hasan Abdal.
	May		
15	2	Saturday	Amrohi.
17	4	Monday ..	Near the fort of Attock.

Chronology ond Stages of Jahangir's March from Lahore to Kabul—(*contd.*)

A. H.	A. D.		Stages.
1016	1607		
Muharram	May	Day	
25	12	Tuesday ..	Saray of Daulabad.
26	13	Wednesday	In the garden of Sardar K. in the neighbourhood of Peshawar.
27	14	Thursday	Jamrud.
28	15	Friday ..	Khaibar Kota Pass. Encamped at Ali Masjid.
29	16	Saturday ..	Traverses the Pass and arrives at Ghrib Khana.
Safar			
2	19	Tuesday ..	Basawal.
10	27	Wednesday	Surkhab.
11	28	Thursday	Jagdalak.
12	29	Friday ..	Abibarik.
13	30	Saturday	Yurt Padshah.
14	31	Sunday ..	Khud Kabul.
			Bikrami.
	June		
17		Wednesday	The Shahrara garden.
18	4	Thursday	Enters Kabul.

CHAPTER VIII

NUR JAHAN

No figure in mediæval Indian history has been shrouded in such romance as the name of Nur Jahan calls to the mind. No incident in the reign of Jahangir has attracted such attention as his marriage with Nur Jahan. For full fifteen years that celebrated lady stood forth as the most striking and most powerful personality in the Mughal empire. No wonder that round her early life there has gathered a thick fog of myth and fable. In the pages of Dow's 'History of Indostan' and other English books, but chiefly in vernacular works, the stream of which is by no means exhausted, we may read how Khwaja Aiyass (Ghiyas Beg), a well educated, high-born native of Western Tartary, loved and married a lady, as poor as himself; and how 'reduced to the last extremity, he turned his thoughts on India,' the usual resource of the needy Tartars of the north. Placing his pregnant wife upon a sorry horse, he continued to walk by her side till their small sum of money was exhausted; they were reduced to live on charity, till they reached, all alone, 'the skirts of the Great Solitudes which separate Tartary from the dominions of the family of Timur.' It was after a three days' fast that the weary, famished lady was delivered of a daughter. After waiting for some hours at the place in the vain hope of relief from any possible passer-by, they, afraid of the approach of night, decided to leave that haunt of wild beasts. A long contest began between Humanity and Necessity but at last, utterly unable to carry the child at all, they exposed it, covered with leaves, under a solitary tree. After they had left the infant out of sight, the mother burst into tears and threw herself, disconsolate, from the horse, exclaiming, 'My child, my child.' The father 'pierced to the heart,' turned back but found the child coiled around by a black snake which he could drive away only by shouting loudly. He picked up the child and handed over to the mother. With the

The Nur Jahan legend.

utmost difficulty they reached Lahore, where they had the good fortune to find an old friend, who introduced them to Akbar's court, where Mirza Ghiyas soon rose to be the Master of the Household. The infant, christened Miherunnisa, grew up to be a charming maid, 'excelling all the ladies of the east in beauty' and in proficiency in music, in dancing, in poetry and in painting, in wit and humour. She aspired to the conquest of the Prince Salim and succeeded, by a dexterous use of her charms and accomplishments at an entertainment, in casting a spell over him. But she was married to Sher Afkun, a Persian noble of the highest courage and valour. Jahangir, on his accession, devised, in vain, various expedients to get rid of Sher Afkun who, however, defeated them all, killing, bare-handed, the enormous tiger which was let loose on him; cutting off the trunk of the huge elephant which, it was planned, should 'crush him to pieces, and killing, one by one, many of the forty assassins who had been set, according to secret imperial orders, to invade his house in Burdawan at night. But at last at an interview with the treacherous Qutbuddin, Governor of Bengal and foster-brother to Jahangir, he was slain after himself killing the Governor and many of his companions. Miherunnisa, when captured by the imperial officers, falsely alleged that Sher Afkun, foreseeing his own fall by Jahangir, had conjured her to yield to the desire of that monarch without hesitation. But the emperor, sorrow-stricken at the death of his foster-brother, absolutely refused to see her and placed her in attendance on the Queen-mother. The vile, crafty lady once more laid her plans to captivate Jahangir and, after four years, completely succeeded.' (Dow, III, pp. 19-33). It is all very fascinating but it is not history.

Khwaja Muhammad Sharif, grandfather of Nur Jahan.

Sober history unfolds a tale lacking in such picturesque romance, but full of human interest. Khwaja Muhammad Sharif, grandfather of Nur Jahan, was the vizier of Tatar Sultan Beglar Begi of Khorasan, a province of Persia. On his patron's death, he retained the same office under his son and successor, Qazaq Khan. On the latter's demise, he was

transferred by Shah Tahmasp to hold the high post of vizier of Yazd. He died in the year 1577, and his family fell under evil stars. His son, Mirza Ghayasuddin Muhammad, commonly known as Ghiyas Beg, soon found his lot intolerable in his native country and resolved to migrate to Hindustan. Along with his two sons, Mahammad Sharif and Abul Hasan, his daughter, and his pregnant wife, he set out under the protection of a caravan, led by a merchant prince, named Malik Masud. So perilous was the route from Persia to India, that even the large company proved no guarantee of security of life and property. Ghiyas Beg had not traversed half the distance when he lost the bulk of his little hoard and all his mules save two. At Qandahar, his wife gave birth to a daughter. The poor family was in no position to provide for the tending of the infant or of the mother. Their sad plight attracted the notice of the kind-hearted Malik Masud, who more than relieved their wants and who perceived the sterling worth of Ghiyas Beg. A friendship sprang up between the two men. On reaching India, Malik Masud presented his friend to the Emperor Akbar at Fathpur Sikri.[1] He was readily admitted into the Imperial service.

Mirza Ghiyas Beg.

Migrates to India.

Robbed on the way.

Birth of Nur Jahan, 1577.

[1] Iqbalnama, 54-55, E. and D. VI. 403-4.
K. K. I. 263-5, M. U. I. 127. Blochmann, 508-12.
Latif's Agra 28-29, half mythical. Beale, Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p. 185. Ch. V ante.

The title of Mirza was at first confined to scions of royal families, but was extended to others during the sixteenth century. It implies the idea of a perfect gentleman, see the Mirzanamah of Mirza Kamran, edited and translated into English by Maulvi M. Hidayat Husain. J. A. S. B. New Se... Vol. IX. 1913, pp. 1-13. The first chapter deals with the main rules, ... second with the secondary rules, of the code of Mirzaship.

The title of Mirza.

Khafi Khan (I. 264), writing in the eigh... 113-14. ...v. says that on her birth, Nur Jahan was exposed by her indigent pa... the road at night, and picked up next morning by ... Masud, who, struck by her beauty, resolved to brin... up and appointed her own mother to be her nur... This version was adopted by Elphinstone (History of India, ed. Cowell, p. 554) and has found its way into into all current books on Indian history. The contemporary writers,

The legend of NurJahan's exposure.

Mirza Ghiyas Beg, to whom the accident of a daughter's birth had served to open a new career, was a man of learning and culture, a charming letterwriter, a brilliant conversationist. He was always remarkable for his self-control. 'Chains, the whip, and abuse were not found in his house.' Avarice forms the chief blemish on his character, but, at heart, he was kind and even generous. He had a passion for work, order, and method. All his life he was admired for his diligence and pains. He rose steadily in rank and influence. By 1595 he held a mansab of 300 and the important office of Diwan of Kabul.

Character of Mirza Ghiyas Beg.

Meanwhile Miherunnisa, as the child born at Qandahar was called, grew up a charming, accomplished lass. About the age of seventeen, she was married to a young Persian adventurer, named Ali Quli Istajlu.

Miherunnisa.

Ali Quli had been the safarchi, a table attendant, of Shah Ismail II of Persia (1576-78). On the death or murder of his master, he had to fly from the country. A long course of wanderings and adventures brought him *via* Qandahar to Multan, where he joined the ranks of Abdur Rahim Khan Khánà, then on his way, at the head of a large force, to conquer Thattah. During the ensuing campaign, Ali Quli greatly distinguished himself by his valour, courage, and intrepidity. He attracted the eye of the general, who mentioned him in despatches and procured him a mansab. On the triumphant conclusion of the war, the Khan Khánà took Ali Quli with him to Lahore, then the headquarters of the Imperial

Ali Quli Istajlu.

however, know nothing of th[illegible]y. If the infant were to be exposed at all, it would be exposed, [illegible]ad but in some out-of-the-way place. The exposure itself is [illegible] a t[illegible]nsistent with Ghiyas Beg's character. The story was inv[illegible] of [illegible] others, to darken the background for Nur Jahan's la[illegible] career.

[illegible] (I. 264-65) also relates a characteristic story of Ghiyas Be[illegible] [illegible]uction to Akbar. The emperor remarked to Malik Masud that [illegible] had not brought such fine presents that year as previously. The Malik replied that he had brought a few living presents such as had never come from Turan or Iran. Then he introduced Ghiyas and his son to the emperor.

government, and introduced him into high circles, in the year 1594. Shortly after he was married to the daughter of Ghiyas Beg. In 1599 he was placed on the staff of Prince Salim, who was deputed by Akbar to a campaign against Mewar. Ali Quli's courage and skill in killing a tiger won him the title of Sher Afkun (tiger-thrower) at the hands of the prince who was mightily pleased with him. He followed his patron in his revolt for a while, but then deserted to Akbar. On his accession, Jahangir had the generosity to overtook his behaviour and grant him an office and a jagir in Bardawan in Bengal.[2]

Marries Miherunnisa; placed on the staff of Prince Salim; styled Sher Afkun.

Granted a jagir in Bengal.

Bengal was then the hot-bed of sedition, conspiracy, and revolt, the asylum of all disaffected Afghan spirits. Sher Afkun was suspected of complicity in treason. The governor, Qutbuddin Khan, who had succeeded to Raja Man Singh in August, 1606, was authorized to send him to court and, in case of disobedience, to bring him to punishment. In March, 1607, Qutbuddin left for Bardawan and summoned Sher Afkun to an interview, most probably to arrest him. On March 30, Sher Afkun, accompanied by only two grooms, came out to meet the governor. As he entered the camp, he was ordered to be surrounded on all sides by the royal troops. His blood was up; he realized the impending danger; the treachery roused his rage. 'What proceeding is this of thine?' he demanded of Qutbuddin. The latter advanced to explain the matter. Sher Afkun, out of temper as he was, drew his

Suspected of disloyalty.

Summoned to an interview.

[2] For Sher Afkun, see Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 113-14.
Iqbalnama, 55. (E. and D.), VI. 404.
K. K., I. 265-66. M. U., I. 130, III. 622-25.
Gladwin, 14-15.
Blochmann, 524.
Beale, Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p. 380.
For Shah Ismail II, see Sykes' History of Persia, II. 253-54.
Also Malcolm, History of Persia.

sword and struck the governor. The bowels gushed out, but the valiant man held them in his hand and commanded his men to depatch the assailant. But the command was needless. Amba Khan, a Kashmiri retainer, had already struck Sher Afkun on the head, though he received a fatal blow in return. The lonely man was assailed on all sides and literally cut to pieces. But he had had his revenge. Amba Khan died on the spot, while Qutbuddin Khan breathed his last within twelve hours.[3]

Mortally wounds Qutbuddin.

Himself killed.

Qutbuddin's death deeply affected Jahangir. Words failed him to express his sorrow at the tragic end of one whom he regarded as 'a dear son, a kind brother, and a congenial friend.' He heaps curses on Sher Afkun and consigns him to eternal damnation.[4]

Jahangir's sorrow at Qutbuddin's death.

Sher Afkun's widow and daughter, named Ladili Begam, were sent to court where Itimad-ud-daulah held high office. Miherunnisa was soon after appointed a lady-in-waiting to the dowager-empress, Sultan Salima Begam. In March, 1611 Jahangir happened to see her at the vernal fancy bazaar, fell in love with her and married her towards the close of May.[5]

Miherunnisa sent to court.

Marries Jahangir, May, 1911.

Such is the real story of the celebrated and momentous marriage. The received version that Jahangir fell in love with her during the

The received version of the story.

[3] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 113-15. Iqbalnama, 23-24.
K. K., I. 266-67. Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh (Delhi edition, 446-47).
Miftahut Tawarikh, 214. Gladwin, 15.
Blochmann, 496-97, 524-25.
The name of Sher Afkun's first assilant is variously mentioned. Jahangir calls him Amba Khan: Motamad Khan calls Pir Khan: while Kamghar calls him Aibak Khan.
Sher Afkun's mangled remains were interred at Bardawan. For the tomb which still stands, see Maulvi Abdul Wali's Antiquities of Bardawan, Traditions, etc., and Sher Afkun's tomb, J. A. S. B. New Series, Vol. XIII, 1917, pp. 184-86.

[4] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 114-15.
Iqbalnama, 55. K. K., I. 267.

[5] Iqbalnama, 56.
Maasir-i-Jahangiri (Khuda Bakhsh MS.), 76 (a).

lifetime of Akbar, that the latter refused to gratify his wishes and induced Mirza Ghiyas to marry her to Sher Afkun, that the disappointed lover, immediately on his accession to power, basely contrived the death of his more successful rival, that the high-souled Miherunnisa indignantly rejected the overtures of her husband's murderer for four years, but that she yielded at last—all this finds absolutely no support in the contemporary authorities. It is, of course, true that Jahangir would confess no guilt of such dark dye, but if he had really had a hand in Sher Afkun's death, he would probably have not referred to the matter at all. As a matter of fact, he gives a circumstantial narrative of Sher Afkun's life and death. Motamad Khan completed his history during the reign of Shah Jahan. Kamghar Hussain's work was inspired by Shah Jahan. Both were hostile to Nur Jahan, the great rival of their patron; yet neither lets fall a hint which would connect her life with a deep scandal. Abdul Hamid Lahori and other historians of Shah Jahan's reign refer to Nur Jahan, but do not hint that she married the 'murderer' of her first husband. It may be argued, indeed, that no court historian would dare to refer to a scandal dishonourable to the whole dynasty, but no such partiality can be attributed to the contemporary foreign visitors. On the contrary, they revelled in scandal; they were only too ready to credit and record any rumour which reflected on the moral character of high personages. They describe a licentious scandal between Jahangir (then Prince Salim) and his step-mother. They hint at a similar scandal between Nur Jahan and her step-son, Shah Jahan. But none of them even suspects that Jahangir murdered Sher Afkun for the sake of his early love. They refer to Nur Jahan's early life, to her husband's violent death, to her marriage with Jahangir, to her vast influence over him, but they do not even insinuate any early love between them, any share of the second husband in the 'murder' of the first. Hawkins, enjoying the inestimable advantage of a knowledge of Turkish, arrived at the Mughal court some time after Sher Afkun's death,

Unsupported by contemporary testimony.

The decisive negative evidence of European travellers.

received admittance into the rank of mansabdars, formed numerous acquaintances, and left Agra some time after Jahangir's marriage with Nur Jahan. Sir Thomas Roe and Edward Terry lived for several years at the Mughal court when Nur Jahan was at the height of her power and was the subject of universal talk. William Finch, an acute observer, found himself in India about the same time. Pietro della Valle confined his travels to the western coast, but heard much of events in the interior during Jahangir's reign.

It is inconceivable that every one of them would fail to learn of Jahangir's guilt, if he were really guilty, in the Sher Afkun affair. Scandal of this nature always spreads like wild fire. Scandal of this nature relating to an emperor and an empress coupled with an atrocious murder would reach every home, and could not possibly escape ears which were only too wide open to receive it. During the reign of Jahangir, the East India factors wrote hundreds of letters to their principals in England. While mainly concerned with their commercial transactions, they frequently allude to interesting and important political events. They give a circumstantial narrative of Khusrau's death, of Shah Jahan's revolt, of Mahabat Khan's *coup*, but they nowhere ascribe Sher Afkun's death to Jahangir's lust for his wife. Sir Thomas Herbert came to India just at the close of Jahangir's reign and Peter Mundy a few years later. Both of them have much to say about Jahangir and Nur Jahan, but neither has a word about any scandal in the circumstances of their marriage. Bernier came a generation later and mixed largely with high personages at the court. He records unspeakable rumours about Shah Jahan, Jahanara, Raushanara, and others. He speaks of Jahangir and Nur Jahan and the latter's ascendancy, but does not refer at all to the Sher Afkun scandal.[6]

[6] Terry (Voyage to East India, p. 404) only says that Jahangir took Nur Jahan 'out of the dust, from a very mean family.'

Della Valle, who travelled in 1623-24 along the Western Coast of India, heard much about Nur Jahan, but strange as it may appear, was not able to know the manner of her marriage with the emperor. 'She was born in India,' he writes, 'but of Persian race, that is the daughter of a

There is, indeed, no contemporary writer at all who charges Jahangir with the murder of Sher Afkun. Negative testimony of this nature is in itself conclusive on the point, but, further, the story is inconsistent with certain known facts and probabilities.

Improbabilities of the story itself.

In the first place, one can hardly think of any motive which would prompt Akbar to forbid a marriage between Miherunnisa and Salim. The former came of a distinguished Persian stock, her father held a high place at the court. The Mughals were not over-scrupulous about plebeian alliances and here was a true patrician alliance. If Akbar really disappointed and chagrined his son and insisted on Ghiyas Beg's bestowing his daughter's hand on Sher Afkun, he would hardly be so unwise

Persian, who, coming as many do into India, to the service of the Mughal, happened to prove a very great man in this court, and, (if I mistake not), Khan or viceroy of a province. She was formerly wife in India to another Persian Captain, who served the Mughal too; but, after her husband's death, a fair opportunity being offered, as it falls out many times to some handsome young widows, I know not how, Shah Salim had notice of her and became in love with her (Travels of P. Della Valle, I. 53). It will be noticed that this account contains several inaccuracies and betrays total ignorance of the circumstances connected with Sher Afkun's death.

Della Valle also records a bazaar fable connected with the marriage. 'He (Jahangir) would have carried her (Nur Mahal) into his harem.... and kept her there like one of his other concubines, but the very cunning and ambitious woman counterfeited great honesty to the king and refused to go into his palace; and, as I believe, also to comply with his desires, saying that she had been the wife of an honourable captain and daughter of an honourable father, and should never wrong her own honour, nor that of her father and husband, and that to go to the king's harem and live like one of the other female slaves there, was unsuitable to her noble condition. Wherefore, if His Majesty had a fancy to her, he might take her for his lawful wife, whereby his honour would be not only not injured, but highly enlarged, and, on this condition, she was at his service, Shah Salim so disdained this haughty motion at first that he had almost resolved in despite to give her in marriage to one of the race which they call Halal-khor, as much as to say Eater-at-large, that is to whom it is lawful to eat everything, and for this cause they are accounted the most despicable people in India. However, the woman persisting in her first resolution, intending rather to die than alter it, and love returning to make impetuous assaults on the king's heart; with the help, too, as some say, of sorceries practised by her upon him, if there were any other charms (as I believe there were not) besides the conditions of the woman, which became lovely to the king by sympathy; at length he determined to receive her for his lawful wife and Queen above all the rest.' (Della Valle's Travels, I. pp. 53-4).

as to place the latter in attendance on Prince Salim in 1599. Then Salim would certainly not honour and elevate the husband of his beloved. On his accession to the throne, he would hardly overlook his desertion and go out of his way to promote and enrich him. If he wanted his wife, he would hardly proceed in the tactless manner which he is alleged to have followed. Lastly, our knowledge of Nur Jahan's character may warrant the inference that, if she knew Jahangir to be stained with her husband's innocent blood, she would never have consented to share his bed and would never have agreed to serve his mother. It is admitted on all hands that Nur Jahan fully reciprocated Jahangir's affection during their married life. A high-souled lady is hardly likely to bestow such love and devotion on her husband's murderer.

Ill-founded suspicions.

It has been assumed by many writers that Qutbuddin was appointed to Bengal with the sole object of procuring Miher-unnisa for his master. There is absolutely no warrant for the opinion. A complete rupture had already taken place between Raja Man Singh and the emperor. They had gone through the forms of a reconciliation on the morrow of Akbar's death, but their hearts were hopelessly estranged. It was only a question of time when Man Singh, like his confederate Aziz Koka, should be deprived of power in the Mughal empire. As soon as Khusrau's rebellion was suppressed, Jahangir deprived him of the governorship of Bengal. It was certain that he would be succeeded by one of the emperor's creatures. Qutbuddin was selected for the post. The suspicion of disloyalty thrown on Sher Afkun

Peter Mundy, who travelled in India in 1629-34, reproduces a nasty, gossiping account, according to which the 'Amir,' her husband, 'being in rebellion, was slain in battle, where she also was taken prisoner, as they say, on an elephant fighting and encouraging, who being brought before the king and showing herself somewhat haughty and stomachful, it is reported he commanded she should be carried to the common stews, there to be abused by the baser sort, but this was not put in execution.' (Travels, II. 205-6).

Francois Bernier refers to Nur Jahan's extraordinary domination over Jahangir, but has nothing to say about her antecedents. (*Vide* Travels, p. 5.)

may have been unjust, but there is nothing strange about it. Bengal was a focus of intrigue, treason, and rebellion. Usman had led a formidable revolt shortly before and was to lead another still more formidable shortly after. The atmosphere was charged with electricity and the storm might break at any moment. The utmost vigilance and precaution were needed. No wonder that a Persian adventurer, who had once deserted Prince Salim, was suspected of treason and was sought to be removed from the centre of disaffection. The unfortunate affray which cost several lives was due to a tactless blunder on the part of Qutbuddin Khan. He ordered Sher Afkun to be surrounded by soldiers without a warning, and roused his rage. It was only natural that after her husband's death, Miherunnisa should be removed to the court where her father and brother held employments. There is nothing strange, on this hypothesis, in her acting as an attendant to Maryamuzzamani, in her catching the eye of the emperor in fancy bazaar, and in her being wedded to him.

The growth of the story.

It was nearly two generations latter that a systematic romance began to be created out of these facts. Once Jahangir was charged with coveting the wife of Sher Afkun, it was necessary to assume that he had fallen in love with her during the lifetime of his father. Muhammad Sadiq Tabarezi is followed and improved upon by Khafi Khan, Sujan Rai, and others who relate how the prince and Miherunnisa would play together; how he once clasped her to his bosom in a rapture of love; how she freed herself from his arms and complained to the royal ladies; how they told the tale to Akbar, who, deeply incensed, refused to gratify the prince's longing for his sweetheart; how Jahangir asked Qutbuddin to procure his early love; how Sher Afkun got an inkling of the designs, resigned, and retired to his jagir; how, on the day of the fatal interview, he was pressed by his mother to make the mother of his adversary weep before she herself was to weep; how Sher Afkun escaped with a spark of life from the blows of his enemies, dragged himself to his door to despatch his wife, but was told by his mother-in-law that she had com-

mitted suicide and that he must dress his wounds outside; and finally, how he instantly gave up the ghost in peace.[7] The romance soon spread far and wide. We find it nowhere in the earlier half of the seventeenth century; we find it everywhere in the records of the subsequent generations. The Persian historians relate it with circumstantial details. The Rajput bards vouch for its truth.[8] The Italian traveller, Manucci, writing towards the close of the century, further embellishes the romance.[9]

During the eighteenth century it was transformed almost beyond recognition and related with all the colour and vivacity of a dramatic plot by Dow and others.[10] In the nineteenth century Elphinstone adopted the version of Khafi Khan and transmitted it to all subsequent manuals of Indian history which drew largely on him.

An attentive study of the contemporary authorities and of the well-established facts themselves knocks the bottom out of the whole romance and the characters of Jahangir and Nur Jahan appear in a truer and more favourable light.

Character of Nur Jahan.

Only thirty-four at the time of her second marriage, Miherunnisa or Nur Mahal, 'Light of the Palace,' or Nur Jahan, 'Light of the World,' as she was styled, retained her charms in all their freshness. No gift of nature seemed to be wanting to her. Beautiful with the rich beauty of Persia, her soft features were lighted up with a sprightly vivacity and superb loveliness. Painters exerted their utmost skill in transmitting the lineaments of her person to posterity. Her name calls up at once a slim slender

7 K. K., I. 265-7.
Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh (Delhi edition), 446-47.
Blochmann, 496-7, 524-5.

8 The Rajputana Khyata of Phalodhi quoted by L. P. Tessitori in the Bardic and Historical Survey of Rajputana.
J. A. S. B., Vol. XV. 1919, No. 1, pp. 56, 58.

9 Manucci (ed. Irvine), I. 161-2.

10 See ante p. 171. Latif, History of the Punjab, 153-7.
Surya Mal in his Banshabhaskar and Lajja Ram Mehta in his Parakrami Hada Rao give the story of Salim's love for Miherunnisa with additional touches of indecency.

frame, an oval face, an ample forehead, large blue eyes, close lips. Her health was always excellent. She would ride and hunt on horseback. She would shoot with a steady hand.

Nature had endowed her with a quick understanding, a piercing intellect, a versatile temper, sound common sense. Education had developed the gifts of nature in no common degree. She was versed in Persian literature and composed verses, limpid and flowing, which assisted her in capturing the heart of her husband.[11] She had a fine æsthetic taste and possessed in a high measure those graces and accomplishments which are supposed to be the glory of her sex. On the death of Sultan Salima Begam in January, 1613,[12] she succeeded to the rank of Padishah Begam or First Lady of the Realm, head of the female society of the capital, leader of fashion and mistress of the household. She at once revolutionized dresses and decorations. She designed new varieties of brocade and lace, gowns and carpets. A particular brocade of pattern called Nur Mahali would furnish, for Rs. 25, a complete dress for the bride and bridegroom. Her dudami and panchatolia, badhah, kinari and farsh-i-chandani are still famous. She invented new patterns for gold ornaments and new ways of adorning apartments and arranging feasts. Writing a century later, Khafi Khan remarks that the fashions introduced by Nur Jahan still governed society and that the old ones survived only among the Afghans in backward towns.[13]

11 Miherunnisa was styled Nur Mahal (Light of the Palace) in 1611 and Nur Jahan (Light of the World) in March, 1616 (Jahangir R. and B., I. 319), but to prevent confusion she might be called uniformly by the latter name. For specimens of her verses, see Khafi Khan, I. 270-71.

12 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 232 says that she died at the age of sixty, which is absurd. On the authority of a note at p. 72 (*a*) of B. M. MS. on 171, Rieu, I. 257, Beveridge proves that she was born on Shawwal 945= February 23, 1539, (See Beveridge's article on Sultan Salima Begam, J. A. S. B., 1906, pp. 509-510.) She was thus seventy-four years old according to the solar, and seventy-six according to the lunar, reckoning. She composed verses under the *nom de plume* of Makhfi (concealed).

See also Iqbalnama, 68. K. K., I. 276.

13 K. K. I., 269 Blochmann, Ain, I. 510.

K. K. also relates a significant story. Jahangir once saw elephants beautifully adorned with foreign-made gold cloth caparisons, embroidered with dazzling flowers with dazzling leaves. The emperor inquired of the

Her disposition was as generous as social. 'She was an asylum for all sufferers and helpless girls,' says Muhammad Hadi. She never heard of oppression but exerted herself on behalf of the oppressed. She never heard of an orphan girl but contributed her wedding portion. During her sixteen years of power she defrayed the expenses of the marriage and dowry of 500 girls. Cases of petty charity were well-nigh innumerable.[14]

Indeed, intensity of thought and feeling, that unfailing mark of greatness, characterises all her life. She was intensely fashionable, intensely charitable. She loved Jahangir intensely; she mourned him intensely. When a friend, she raised Khurram to the pinnacle of princely greatness; when an enemy, she reduced him to dust. When in power, she ruled everything: when out of power, she abstained religiously from all active life. It was in perfect harmony with her character that she was intensely ambitious. She was one of those masterful intellects who are conscious of a vast reserve of power; who find relief and delight in ceaseless activity; who love to dominate every situation and who tend unconsciously to gather all authority in their hands. To an ambitious and dominating temperament, Nur Jahan added practical capacity of the highest order. She would go straight to the heart of every question. She could comprehend the broad outlines and grasp the details of every problem with equal ease and clearness. Her enemies admitted that difficulties vanished at her touch. To clarity of vision she added marvellous diligence and driving power. Whatever she took in hand, she would exert her utmost strength to accomplish. Her presence of mind and resourcefulness would not desert her in hours of extreme peril. Seated on an excited elephant, on the waters of a deep rapid stream, a target to a thick shower of hostile arrows, she retained perfect composure of mind. A close pri-

Khansama what the price of the caparisons was. He replied that he had obtained them all from the palace. Jahangir inquired of Nur Jahan what she had spent on the splendid decorations. She replied that she had prepared all that from the bags of the despatches from the Amirs.

14 Muhammad Hadi (E. and D.), VI. 399.
Iqbalnama, 57, (E. and D.), VI. 405.

soner in the hands of a great warrior and astute diplomat, she displayed infinite tact and management. With her usual boldness, she tore the conventions which relegated her sex to seclusion in the east. She came out of the pardah, saw things with her own eyes, ruled and commanded in public.

Such was the lady, at once bold and graceful, fashionable and bountiful, loving and ambitious, charming and dominating, whom Jahangir made a partner of his life in 1611. In many respects they differed from each other and therefore supplemented each other. Their close intimacy resulted as much from the attraction of opposites as from similarity of aim and outlook. Jahangir never became a dull man, for dullness, as a philosopher has said, is, like genius, a natural charm, an inborn gift, which no mere practice or habit of life can produce. But he had reached the forty-third year of his life and acquired love of ease. He was not unwilling to see the business of government pass into the hands of a fair creature, who loved with all the strength of her strong personality whom he loved with all his ardour of passion, who studied his temperament, who was willing to follow all the principles of his government, who gave him entire satisfaction and yet spared him a great deal of exertion and anxiety. As years rolled on, Jahangir learned more and more to ease and sloth and Nur Jahan grew more and more experienced and inured to power. There is no taste which indulgence nourishes and strengthens so rapidly as the taste for power. No wonder that Nur Jahan soon had the reins of government in her hands.

She gathers authority in her hands.

In the task of administration she was ably assisted by her relations—her parents, her brothers, and the husband of her niece.

The Nur Jahan clique.

Her mother, Asmat Begam, was a sagacious counsellor. She is chiefly remembered as the inventress or rather the discoverer of attur roses which Sultan Salima Begam styled atr-i-Jahangiri,[15] but she really

Her mother, Asmat Begam.

[15] 'When she (Nur Jahan's mother) was making rose-water a scum formed on the surface of the dishes into which the hot rose-water was

Itiqad Khan and Ibrahim Khan.

His younger brothers, styled Itiqad Khan and Ibrahim Khan, were far smaller men, though they rose to high ranks.[17]

Prince Khurram.

In April, 1612, Asaf Khan's daughter, Arjumand Banu Begam, was married to Prince Khurram, who had completed twenty years of age.. He had been brought up by his grandmother, Ruqayya Sultan Begam, who always doted upon him. He was a favourite with Akbar who recognized him as his own child and who frequently told Salim that there was no comparison between him and his brothers. The boy fully reciprocated the feeling. During his grandfather's last illness, he refused to leave the bedside sur-

[17] The following charts illustrate the rise of the three brothers:—

ASAF KHAN (ABUL HASAN)

Rank	A. H.	A. D.	REMARKS
500 + 100	...	...	....
...	1020	1611	Received the title of Itiqad Khan.
1000 + 300	1021	1612	....
2000 + 500	...	...	....
3000 + 1000	1023	1614	Received the title of Asaf Khan.
4000 + 2000	1024	1615	....
5000 + 3000	1025	1616	Also given a standard and drums.
5000 + 4000	...	...	....
4000 two horsed and three-horsed.	1027	1618	....
6000 + 6000	1031	1622	....

ITIQAD KHAN (A YOUNGER SON OF ITIMAD-UD-DAULAH).

700 + 200	..	...	....
1500 + 500	1024	1615	....
2000 + 900	1025	1616	....
4000 + 1000	1027	1618	....
4000 + 3000	1032	1623	....

IBRAHIM KHAN (ANOTHER SON OF ITIMAD-UD-DAULAH).

1000 + 600	...	...	....
2000 + 1000	1024	1615	....
2500 + 2000	1024	1615	Appointed Governor of Bihar.

These charts have been compiled chiefly from Jahangir's memoirs and Motamad Khan's Iqbalnama. Khafi Khan and Shah Nawaz Khan have also been referred to.

rounded by his enemies. Neither the advice of his father nor the entreaties of his mother could prevail on him to prefer the safety of his life to his last duty to the old man.

Education and character.

Like all Mughal Princes, he had received an excellent liberal education. Among his tutors he reckoned Tatar Beg, a scholar of Turkish, Hakim Dawai Gillani, a master of Greek philosophy, Qasim Beg Tabrizi, versed in sacred and profane lores, Shaikh Abul Khair, a true son of Shaikh Mubarak Mir Murad Dakhini and Raja Shalibahan had taught him archery and fencing. The prince freely acknowledged his debt to his teachers, particularly to Hakim Dawai, but he owed his success in life to the strength of character which he had inherited from his grandfather.[18] In an age when wine seemed a necessary appendage of high rank, when Royal princes succumbed to it in quick succession, he was the embodiment of temperance. He passed his twenty-third years without tasting a drop liquor. On his twenty-fourth birthday, Jahangir gave him a long lecture on the virtues of moderate drinking, quoted Avicenna to prove his point, and pressed him to taste a little on festivals. Khurram long resisted the strange importunity, but had to yield at last. 'It was only after a great deal of trouble,' writes Jahangir, 'that he could be persuaded to take in a little wine.' He was passionately devoted to splendour and magnificence, but he always preserved gravity of demeanour. Indeed, to those who came into contact with him, he appeared proud and stuck-up, never smiling never condescending. He early acquired the reputation of a great warrior and skilful general, was entrusted with important military commands and ranked among the finest tacticians and strategists of the empire. He burned with ambition and fixed his eye on the crown. Fortune favoured his aspirations. Khusrau conspired, rebelled, and lost the favour of his father. Parvez had had Abul Fazl for his instructor and Zain Khan Koka for his guardian. He was full of ambition, but devoid of ability and a prey to intemperance. His mismanagement of the Deccan war brought him

18 Padshah Namah of Muhammad Qazwini.

into discredit. Of the other two brothers, Jahandar was destined to an early death, while Shahryar, born in 1605, was as yet a mere child. Of all the sons of Jahangir, Khurram was marked out to be the heir-apparent and successor.

Marked out for the succession.

In March, 1607, he had received a mansab of 8,000 zat and 5,000 suwar with flags and drums. Shortly after he strengthened his position by revealing the assassination plot to Jahangir. In 1608 the assignment of the sarkar of Hissar Firoz to him proclaimed to the world that he was intended for the throne. Three years later his rank was raised to 10,000 zat and 5,000 suwar.

Married to Arjumand Banu Begam.

He had already been married to the daughter of Muzaffar Husain Mirza Safavi. In April, 1612, the court was in festive rejoicings at the nuptials of the heir-apparent with the niece of the empress. The prince and Asaf Khan, both lovers of pomp and ceremony, vied with each other in ostentatious splendour. Jahangir himself headed the marriage procession and spent a day and a night at the mansion of Asaf Khan.[19]

Few marriages in polygamous households have been so happy. To superb beauty and loveliness, Arjumand Banu added a pure, generous heart, imperturbable cheerfulness, patience under the direst sufferings, a lofty sense of conjugal duty. She surrendered her mind and soul to her husband who loved her as never wife was loved. That 'bubble in marble,' called the Taj Mahal, well commemorates the idyllic purity of their love.

[19] A. N., III. 603, 786. Amal-i-Salih 31-2, 50.
Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 19-20, 48, 87, 123, 132, 180, 192, 224-5, 306-7.
Muhammad Hadi, p. 6.
Iqbalnama, 67. K. K., I. 276.
Gladwin, 13-14, 26.
M. U. III. 78. (Beveridge) I. 294.
Sir Thomas Roe's Embassy, 278, 280, 317, 328-9, 426, 428.
Terry, p. 412.
Sir T. Roe (p. 283), who had grudges against the prince, calls him proud, subtle, false, and barbarously tyrannous.
For Parvez, A. N. III. 568, 577, 647.

Yet the marriage had primarily been a political one. It symbolized the alliance of Nur Jahan, Itimad-ud-daulah, and Asaf Khan with the heir-apparent. For the next ten years this clique of four supremely capable persons practically ruled the empire. What has been called Nur Jahan's sway is really the sway of these four personages. Within a few years Khurram rose to the unprecedented rank of 30,000 zat and 20,000 suwar.[20]

The Nur Jahan ascendancy.

All contemporary observers, Indian and foreign alike, are unanimous that the sway of Nur Jahan was complete, though they failed to appreciate the share of her three associates. She sometimes sat in the jharokha window and dictated orders to officers and received important messengers. Coin was sometimes struck in her name and farmans were occasionally issued with her name. If she could have been admitted to the order of mansabdars, her jagirs would have entitled her to the rank of 30,000. With her associates rested the patronage in large measure.[21]

[20] The following chart will illustrate the point:—

PRINCE KHURRAM

Rank	A. H.	A. D.	REMARKS
8000 + 5000	1016	1607	Also the jagir of Hisar Firoz.
10000 + 5000	1020	1611	....
12000 + 5000	1021	1612	....
12000 + 6000	.	...	....
15000 + 8000	1024	1615	....
20000 + 10000	1025	1616	... .
30000 + 20000	1026	1617	.. ....

With this compare the gradations in the advancement of his elder brother, Prince Parvez:—

15000 + 8000	...	...	In 1615, Khurram's mansab was made equal in the same year.
20000 + 10000	1028	1619	Two years earlier Khurram's mansab had reached 30,000+20,000.

[21] Iqbalnama, 56-57. (E. and D.), VI. 405.
Tatimma-i-Waqayat Jahangiri (E. and D.), VI. 398-9.

Jahangir is recorded to have remarked, perhaps only in a casual, humorous mood, that he knew Nur Jahan to be well fitted to rule, and that he only wanted a bottle of wine and a piece of meat to make merry.[22]

Jahangir a factor to be reckoned with.

Maasir-i-Jahangiri (Khuda Bakhsh MS.), pp. 76-7.

Motamad Khan speaks as if all coins and farmans bore the name of Nur Jahan, which is quite wrong. Some of the farmans, which I have discovered, do not bear her name. Many of the coins catalogued by Lane-Poole, Whitehead, and others, do not bear her name either. The following superscription was added to coins struck in her name:—

بحکم شاه جهانگیر یافت صد زیور

بنام نور جهان بادشاه بیگم زر

'By order of the King Jahangir, gold has a hundred splendours added to it by receiving the name of Nur Jahan, the Queen Begam.'

'She (Nur Jahan) made such a thorough conquest of his affections, that she engrossed almost all his love, did what she pleased in the government of that Empire, where she advanced her brother Asaf Khan and other her nearest relations, to the greatest places of command, honour, and profit in that vast monarchy.' Terry, p. 406. Speaking of the influence of Khurram and Nur Mahal, Sir T. Roe says, 'Sultan Khurram is as absolute by Nur Mahal's power, as she, who is all. For if the king did govern, his nature is just, easy, and good, and his opinion favour to me extraordinary ....but he, good man, dotes and hears only by one ear.'

Letters Received, V. p. 332.

'He (Jahangir) became her (Nur Jahan's) prisoner by marrying her, for in his time she in a manner ruled all in ruling him, coining money of her own, building and disposing as she listed, putting out of the king's favour and receiving whom she pleased,' says Peter Mundy who travelled in India from 1629 to 1634 (Travels, II. p. 206). He adds that what he has written about Nur Jahan and others is 'The vulgar report and commonly received opinion.'

P. Della Valle heard in 1624-5 that 'Nur Mahal' (for, on the Western Coast he does not seem to have heard the new designation Nur Jahan), 'commands and governs at this day in the king's harem with supreme authority, having cunningly removed out of the harem either by marriage or other handsome ways, all the other women who might give her any jealousy; and having also in the court made many alterations by deposing and displacing almost all the old captains and officers, and by advancing to dignities other new ones of her own creatures, and particularly those of her blood and alliance.' Travels, I. 54.

Della Valle was mistaken in his information that almost all the old officers had been displaced.

Bernier (p. 5), writing in the beginning of Aurangzeb's reign, also refers to her as 'The wife of Jahangir, who so long wielded the sceptre while her husband abandoned himself to drunkenness and dissipation'.

22 Iqbalnama, 57 (E. and D.), VI. 405.

Tatimma (E. and D.), VI. 399.

But it is a mistake to suppose that the emperor was reduced to a cipher. In the first place, all his principles of foreign and domestic policy, all his institutions of government, were maintained. In the second place, the dominant clique closely studied his temperament and sought to manage him rather than rule him. In the third place, he continued to take keen interest in affairs of State and occasionally interposed with vigour against the junta. Sir Thomas Roe has described how the emperor's rage and indignation were roused, and how severely he reprimanded Prince Khurram in the council chamber when his name was mentioned in connection with an injustice to English merchants on the Western Coast.[23]

It was only when he broke down in health that Jahangir ceased to exercise real influence on the administration. The Nur Jahan ascendancy naturally divides itself into two periods of unequal length—the first from 1611 to 1622, when Jahangir was a factor to be reckoned with, when Itimad-uu-daulah and his wife were alive, when Nur Jahan and Khurram were in close alliance, and the second from 1622 to 1627, when the emperor was a confirmed invalid, when the great vizier and his consort were no more, and when the masterful empress and the masterful prince were at daggers drawn with each other. During the latter period, Nur Jahan's rule plunged the country into blood and strife. During the former period, the ascendancy of the junta maintained the empire, on the whole, in peace and prosperity.

The Nur Jahan ascendancy divides into two periods.

There is no clique so close and so odious as a family clique —it is nature's own clique. Nur Jahan and her associates filled most of the vacancies in the Imperial services with their own creatures. Their favour was the sole passport to honour and rank. They naturally roused the jealously and hostility of the older nobility and all those who were, or fancied that they were, deprived of their due meed of power and left in the outer darkness. Abdur

Rouses the jealousy of the older nobility.

[23] The Embassy of Sir T. Roe, 147-8.
See also K. K., I. 270.

Rahim Khan Khana temporized with the dominant junta, but prouder spirits like Mahabat Khan refused to pay them homage. Henceforward, the court is divided into two factions—the adherents of the Nur Jahan junta and their opponents. Mahabat Khan made himself the spokesman of the latter and, with his usual frankness, pressed his master to free himself from the dishonourable petticoat bondage. It was a pity, he continued, that a wise and learned emperor like Jahangir should do what no king had ever stooped to do; that he should be so utterly careless of his fame. He urged him to shake off the shackles. Jahangir was impressed with the arguments, but did nothing for his emancipation.[24] Mahabat Khan's rising career was seriously eclipsed by the ascendancy of the junta. He had risen to 4,000 zat and 3,500 suwar in 1612. He had to wait for the next lift till 1622, when the junta was broken up and when Nur Jahan discovered his services to be indispensable to her. Meanwhile, he was required to waste his talents in fruitless Deccan and Afghan warfare, far from the centre of the empire.[25]

Mahabat Khan's outspoken protest.

24 Intikhab-i-Jahangirshahi (E. and D.), VI. 415-2.
25 The following chart will illustrate the point:—

Rank	A. H.	A. D.	REMARKS
500	...	...	....
1500	1014	1605	Also received the title of Mahabat Khan.
2000 + 1300	1015	1606	....
4000 + 3000	...	...	....
4000 + 3500	1019	1610	So far his rise has been marvellous. Now, however, begins the period of the supremacy of the Nur Jahan junta, with which his relations were so strained. Thanks to his own abilities and the Emperor's personal favour, he continued to be employed in high office, but his promotion stops completely for the next ten years. It is only when the junta breaks up and Nur Jahan needs Mahabat Khan's services against Shah Jahan that Mahabat receives an increase in 1622.
6000 + 5000	1031	1622	....

Prince Khurram was the candidate of the junta for the throne. Prince Khusrau was adopted by the rival party as their candidate. His personal magnetism, his blameless private life, his sufferings, his adventures, made him popular with all classes of people. The royal ladies had a warm corner for him in their hearts. The Khan Azam was naturally devoted to his son-in-law. The older nobility, disgusted with the Nur Jahan supremacy, mostly clung to him. All the disaffected spirits swore by him. The wish being father to the thought, it was commonly believed that Jahangir was deeply attached to him, that he had made up his mind to nominate him to the throne in preference to the proud, overbearing Khurram. If Khusrau was not released, they said, it was simply because the emperor was afraid of his immense popularity and of the masterful empress.[26]

Prince Khurram and Khusrau as rival candidates for the throne.

Parties.

Every turn in Jahangir's treatment of Khusrau was hailed with exultation or sorrow at the court and in the country at large. In 1613 the emperor relented so far as to relax the confinement of the prince and permit him to pay his respects at the court every day.[27] This was too much for the junta who contrived the reversal of the

Intrigues.

[26] Roe, II. 280.

About the same time European observer, James Bickford, writing to Sir T. Smith, the Governor of the East India Company, echoes more or less the same sentiments in still stronger language. Prince Khusrau is, he says, 'best beloved of his father and ever was, though a prisoner, which is more for fear of him than hate to him, he being so generally beloved of all the country and joined in intimate friendship wtih some of the greatest and most honourable men of the country. Notwithstanding, the king hath sworn that he shall reign after him; but dares not give him his liberty for fear of his flying out.' Letters Received, V. 134.

'It was generally believed,' says Terry (pp. 411-2), ,that to be intent of his (Khusrau's) father (for he would often promise so) to make this prince, his first born, his successor, though for the present out of some jealousy (his being so much beloved by the people) he denied his liberty.

'His father's love brings upon him the extreme hatred of his brother Khurram, the Mughal's third son, who then lived in very great pomp and splendour at that court, aiming at that empire; to which end he put many jealousies into his father's head (now grown in years) concerning his brother Khusrau.'

[27] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 252.

order next year.[28] About the same time the Khan-i-Azam was committed to the custody of his enemy, Asaf Khan, for thwarting Prince Khurram's Mewar campaign in the interest of Khusrau.[29]

In October, 1616, the emperor reluctantly yielded to the importunities of the junta to transfer the captive Khusrau from the charge of Ani Rai Singh Dalan to that of Asaf Khan.[30]

[28] Jahangir (R and B.), I. 261.

[29] *Ibid.*

[30] Jahangir (R and B), I 336 The emperor only says that the Prince 'who was in the charge, for safe keeping, of Ani Rai Singh Dalan, for certain considerations, was handed over to Asaf Khan.' But Sir T. Roe gives a very interesting account of the successful plot which ended in Khusrau's being placed in charge of Asaf Khan. Probably it represents only the court gossip, with some foundation in fact, but it is instructive as showing the current of public opinion and the vacillations of the Emperor. 'The junta,' we are told, 'resolved it was not possible for them to stand, if the Prince Sultan Khusrau lived, whom the nobility loved and whose delivery or life would punish their ambitions in time; therefore practised how to bring him into their power, that poison might end him. Nur Mahal attempts the King with the false tears of woman's bewitching flattery that Sultan Khusrau was not safe nor his aspiring thoughts deposed The king hears, soothes it, but would not understand more than she delivered plainly. This failing, they took opportunity of the king's being drunk, the Prince, Itimad-ud-daulah, and Asaf Khan, moved the king that, for the safety of Sultan Khusrau and his honour, it were fitter he were in the keeping of his brother, whose companies would be pleasing one to the other, and his safety more regarded than in the hands of a Rajput gentile (to whom the king had committed him): therefore they humbly desired His Majesty that he might be delivered into the hands of his dear brother; which the king granted and so fell asleep. They thought their own greatness such as, bringing the king's authority, no man durst refuse; and being once in their possession they would dispute the re-delivery. So the same night Asaf Khan, in the name of the king, sent by the Prince, came with a guard to demand and receive Sultan Khusrau at the hands of Ani Rai... . He refused to deliver his charge, with this answer: that he was Sultan Khurram's humble servant, but that he had received the Prince's brother from the hands of the king and to no other would deliver him; that he should have patience till the morning, when he would discahrge himself to His Majesty and leave it to his pleasure to dispose of. This answer cooled all. In the morning Ani Rai came to the king and acquainted him with the demand of the prince, his refusal, and answer; and added His Majesty has given him charge of his son, and made him the commander of 4000 horse (?) with all which he would die at the gate rather than deliver his Prince to the hands of his enemies: if His Majesty required him, he was ready to obey his will, but he would provide for his own innocence. The king replied, "You have done honestly, faithfully. You have answered discreetly; continue your purpose and take no knowledge of any commands; I will

The event caused deep consternation in the palace and the court and the country. It was naturally deemed a great victory for the junta, fraught with deep menace to the prospects and even personal safety of Prince Khusrau.[31] 'The common people all murmur,' writes Sir T. Roe, who was present at the court at the time; 'they say the king hath not delivered his son's, but his own life into the hands of an ambitious prince and a treacherous faction. That Khusrau cannot perish without scandal to the father or revenge from him: therefore he must go first and after him his son; and so through their bloods this youth (Khurram)

not seem to know this, neither do you stir further; hold your faith and let us see how far they will prosecute it." The Prince and the faction next day, finding the king silent, hoping he might forget what passed in wine, took no notice of the grant nor of the refusal, but it fell (not without suspicion on both parts).'

Roe, II. pp. 281-3.

Though it failed once in this manner, the junta persisted in its designs. While Prince Khurram was preparing to march to the Deccan, he and his associates once more resolved that they were not secure 'if Sultan Khusrau remained in the hands of Ani Rai: that in his (Khurram's) absence the king might be reconciled, and by his (Khusrau's) liberty all the glory and hopes of their factions would vanish and the injury and ambition hardly be pardoned. They newly assailed the king's constancy to deliver up his son into the hands of Asaf Khan, as his guardian under Sultan Khurram. They pretended that it will frighten the Khan Khana and the Decianio, when they shall hear that the prince is so favoured, who now comes to make war upon them, that the king hath delivered up his eldest son, in that as it were the whole kingdom and hope of succession and the present power thereof. The king, who had yielded himself into the hands of a woman, could not defend his son from their practices. He either sees not the ambition or trusts it too far in confidence of his own power, and consents: so that this day he was delivered up the soldiers of Ani Raî discharged and a supply of Asaf Khan's planted about him, with assistance of 200 of the Prince's horse.'

Roe, II. 292-3.

Purchas (IV. 361-2). Old edition, I. 554.

31 Sir T. Roe graphically describes what he heard of the sensation in the palace. 'His (Khusrau's) sister and divers women in the seraglio mourn, refuse their meat, cry out of the king's dotage and cruelty, and profess that if he die there will 100 of his kindred burn for him in memory of the king's bloodiness to his worthiest son. The king gives fair words, protesteth no intent of ill towards the prince, and promiseth his delivery and sends Nur Mahal to appease these enraged ladies, but they curse, threaten and refuse to see her.' Roe, II. 293.

About the Prince himself he heard and believed that he 'refuses meat and requires his father to take his life and not to let it be the triumph and delight of his enemies' (p. 294).

must mount the royal seat. New hopes are spread of his re-delivery, and soon allayed; every man tells news according to his fears or desires..... The whole court is in a whisper; the nobility sad; the multitude, like itself, be full of tumor and noise, without head or foot; only it rages but bends itself to no direct end.'[32]

Even at this time Khurram was believed to be making secret attempts upon his brother's life.[33] All through this period, the hopes and aspirations, the intrigues and conspiracies, of the rival parties kept the court in constant agitation. It was confidently believed that Jahangir's death would be the signal for a bloody civil war between the adherents of the rival princes. Sir Thomas Roe thought it his duty to warn the East India Company not to extend their business too far into the country. Their agents must keep together in a few places and refrain from participation in the politics of the country.[34]

Apprehensions of a civil war.

32 Roe, II. 294.
33 Roe, 299 (Purchas IV. 404).
34 The Embassy of Sir T. Roe, pp. 283, 295.
Also Beckford to Sir Thomas Smyth, Letters Received, VI. 134-5.

CHAPTER IX

RIOTS AND DISTURBANCES

DURING the seventeen years that separate the revolt of Prince Khusrau from that of Prince Shah Jahan, the interior provinces of the Mughal empire enjoyed, on the whole, profound peace and tranquillity. When we recall the existence of numerous semi-independent chieftains in the country, the tremendous difficulties of communication, the slight difference between a State army and an armed mob, the village tendency to refuse payment of taxes, and, last but not least, the presence of formidable foes on the frontiers, we must pay a tribute to the efficient organization and working of the Mughal Government. The contemporary foreign visitors record numerous cases of pillage and robbery, but most of them occurred along the frontier routes.

Internal tranquillity, 1605–1622.

There were indeed some riots and insurrections of a local character and short duration. Ray Ray Singh and Dalpat Singh of Bikanir were encouraged by Khusrau's revolt to raise an insurrection about Nagor.[1] Ramchandra Bundela broke into revolt as a protest against the excessive partiality shown to his brother, Bir Singh, the murderer of Abul Fazl. He was repressed, captured, and reduced to placating the emperor by the gift of his daughter in marriage.[2] Sangram, a Zamindar in Bihar, was probably encouraged to insurrection by the affair of Khusrau. He was promptly defeated and slain in an encounter with Jahangir Quli Khan, Governor of Bihar.[3] Besides the curious rising under Qutb, the pseudo-Khusrau,[4] the year 1610 saw an outbreak in the neighbourhood

Riots and insurrections.

Ray Ray Singh.

Ramchandra Bundela.

Sangram.

Qutb.

1 Ante Ch. V. Gladwin, 12.
2 Ante Ch. V. Gladwin, 14.
3 Ante Ch. VI. Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 82-83. Gladwin, 13.
4 Ante Ch. VII. Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 173–76.

of Delhi, which was suppressed by Muazzam Khan from Agra.[5]

Popular riots at Agra.

Next year, similar disturbances round Kanauj and Kalpi had to be suppressed by the Khan Khana, who held Jagirs in those quarters.[6]

Kanauj and Kalpi.

In 1613-14 Dalpat was driven into revolt by his supersession by his brother, Rao Suraj Singh. The latter, commissioned to suppress him, inflicted a heavy defeat on him and drove him into the southern Punjab. He was captured at last by Hashim, the faujdar of Khost, sent to the court, and punished with death.[7]

Dalpat.

Defeated.

Captured. executed.

An insignificant disturbance occurred in 1618, when Subhan Quli (son of Haji Jamal Baluch, the best huntsman of Akbar), the would-be assassin of Islam Khan, Governor of Bengal, was tempted, some time after his release from confinement and enrolment in the royal hunt service, to leave the court in Gujarat and ingratiate himself with the villagers about Agra. The advent of his pursuers roused the villages, but they submitted and handed over the culprit to a detachment sent by Khwaja Jahan, Governor of Agra. He was sentenced to capital punishment. Jahangir soon commuted the penalty but his order arrived too late. On that occasion he laid down that no capital sentences shuld be carried out till the evening.[8]

Subhan Quli.

Gujarat was the scene of more than one petty insurrection. A son of Muzaffar Gujarati, the redoubtable claimant to his patrimony in Akbar's reign, unfurled the standard of revolt, in the neighbourhood of Ahmedabad, on the intelligence of Akbar's death. He was, however, soon crushed.[9] The recalcitrant Chief of Jaitpur in Kathiawar gave some trouble in the year 1617. In his jungles, he eluded the pursuit of the Imperialists under Fedai

Gujarat.

Muzaffar Gujarati's son.

The Chief of Jaitpur.

5 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 171.
6 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 199, M. U. (Beveridge), I. 57.
7 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 258-9.
8 Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 27-8.
9 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 49-50.

Khan. His followers surprised and killed the commander's brother, Ruhullah, whose soldiers burnt the neighbouring village and butchered the villagers. When reduced to extremities, the chief of Jaitpur offered submission and was graciously admitted to favour and to court.[10]

Pardoned.

In 1612 Thattah witnessed a bitter conflict between the soldiers and the peasants. Jahangir sent Abdur Razzaq, the bakhshi of the palace, to restore order and endeavoured to reconcile his subjects with his soldiers.[11]

Quarrel between the soldiers and peasants at Thattah.

All these were purely local affairs which did not lead to much loss of life or property and which were promptly settled. It was, however, otherwise, with the frontier provinces.

On the western coast, the Portuguese made a great deal of trouble. The conflicts between the European merchants of various nationalities, English, Dutch and Portuguese, were a source of great distraction to the Imperial officers and merchants on the seaboard. Jahangir himself was anxious to maintain friendly relations with the Portuguese authorities in Goa. In 1607 he had sent Muqarrab Khan, accompanied by Father Pinheiro, as ambassador to Goa. In 1613, however, the Portuguese seized four Imperial ships, in which the Empress-Dowager had a great share, and which carried no less than three millions of treasure, in the vicinity of Surat. The Emperor was enraged and despatched Muqarrab Khan, the Governor of Surat, to exact compensation. The Mughal commander wisely and skilfully managed to come to terms with Downton, the English sea-captain, so as to remedy his own naval impotence—the weakest point in the Mughal armour. In the fight which ensued, the Portuguese Viceroy was severely handled and ultimately defeated by the English navy.

The Portuguese.

10 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 389, 390, 391-2.
M. U. (Beverridge), I 560-61.
For Jaitpur, Jarrett, II. 258.
I. G., VII. 192.

11 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 225.

Meanwhile, the Imperial forces had besieged Daman. Most of the Portuguese residing in the Mughal Empire were arrested, even Father Jerome Xavier was put under the custody of Muqarrab Khan. All the favours so far extended to the Portuguese missionaries were withdrawn. Their religion and worship were interdicted. At court the English were ostentatiously favoured at their expense.

Thus foiled on all hands, the Portuguese opened negotiations for peace. After considerable haggling and procrastination on both sides, a treaty was concluded at length. During the remainder of Jahangir's reign there was no war between the Mughals and the Portuguese.[12]

On the eastern side, Bengal formed the threatre of a protracted civil war. The sovereigns of the Duab had always found it difficult to make their authority felt in the Gangetic delta. The hundreds of streams which glide over the water-logged soil seriously impede the movements of an invading force. The rains convert a great part of the region into one vast sheet of water and reduce the invaders to helplessness. Malaria follows the rains and works havoc. Meanwhile, the jungles afford impenetrable retreats to the defenders who can sally forth at convenience and complete the destruction begun by nature. During the period of the Sultanate (1206–1526) Bengal was for the most part practically independent. Babur's conquest of the upper country made Bengal the dumping ground of Afghan royal families and freelances. During the reign of Humayun they were organized into a confederacy by one of the greatest strategists and statesmen which that race has

Bengal.

Physical features.

History (1206—1526)

12 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 255, 274. Motamad Khan and Khafi Khan pass over the affair with slight notice. Gladwin, 28.

Foster, Introduction to the Embassy of Sir T. Roe, pp. x–xiii. Letters Received, II. 107. For contemporary Portuguese history, the accounts of Sir T. Roe, Terry, Hawkins, Downton, P. Della Valle, Payrard de Laval, Thomas Best, Don duart de Menses. Among modern works, Danver's Portuguese in India; Hunter's History of British India.

For a full list of authorities, Talbot in J. A. S. B., 1873, pp. 193–208.

ever produced. With the forces of nature and the arms of his compatriots on his side, Sher Khan drove the divided Mughals out of India and founded the memorable Sur dynasty. On the Mughal restoration in 1556, Bengal long continued independent but a prey to faction and anarchy. The various Afghan chiefs, swept thither by the irresistible tide of Mughal conquest, wrangled, robbed, and murdered at will. In 1573-74 the emperor Akbar despatched a mighty army which reduced the nominal king, Daud, to abject submission and proclaimed the imperial sovereignty throughout the province. But the Afghans were not prepared to sink into despair and peace without a long series of efforts to shake off the hated yoke. In 1575 Daud organized a formidable force, took advantage of the Mughal governor's death, and proclaimed himself king. It took more than a year to reestablish Imperial authority. The Afghans bided their time. Daud's mantle passed to Qutlu Khan, then to his right-hand man, Isa Khan, next to Sulaiman, who soon fell in a fight with the Imperialists, and finally to Usman, second son of Isa Khan.

Sher Shah.

Under Akbar.

Usman, the last of the Afghans in Bengal, was a stout corpulent man, with plenty of animal spirits. He combined preeminent valour and courage with considerable military talent and power to infuse his own enthusiasm into his followers. The restoration of the Afghans to rule in Bengal was the one burning passion of his life. Like his illustrious predecessor, Sher Khan, he temporized for a long time with those whom he hated at heart. He professed loyalty to the Mughals and received from them grants of the annual value of five or six lakhs of rupees. He threw off the mask in 1592 and, along with Khwaja Sulaiman, raided Orissa, recently conquered for the Mughals by Raja Man Singh. The audacious attack was repulsed, but it required all the vigour of Raja Man Singh to preserve peace and order in Bengal and Orissa.[13]

Usman.

13 Stewart (History of Bengal, p. 133, Bangabasi Press, Calcutta edition, 1910, p. 214) erroneously supposed Usman to be the son of Qutlu.

The Mughals had to deal, besides the Afghans, with the 'twelve' great chiefs of Bengal, called Barah Bhuiyas and headed by the redoubtable Raja Pratapaditya. Bengali tradition represents them as the backbone of the resistance offered to the Mughals, but really they seem to have played the second fiddle to the better organized Afghans. All the same, they contributed not a little to make confusion worse confounded in Bengal.[14]

The Barah Bhuiyas.

Beyond the borders of Bengal lay Assam and Arakan with which the Mughals did not come into conflict till long after Jahangir's reign, but a half-civilized Mongolian tribe, called the Maghs, created some trouble.[15]

The Maghs.

Raja Man Singh, the Governor of Bengal, often resided at the court or in Rajputana, leaving Bengal to the charge of his son Jagat Singh. In 1599, while Akbar was absent in the Deccan with the best forces, he was deputed to assist Prince Salim in sub-

Usman's revolt, 1599.

See Dorn, Makhzan-i-Afghani or History of the Afghans, p. 179. Blochmann, 520-21.

14 A great deal of legend has gathered round the Barah Bhuiyas, especially round Pratapaditya. See the Bengali works, Pratapaditya by Nikhil Nath Roy; The Life of Pratapaditya, the last Hindu kings of Bengal, by Satya Charan Shastri, which purport to be historical biographies of Pratapaditya. A Bengali novel, Bangadhip Parajaya, and a drama, Bangesh Pratapaditya, make use of many of the current traditions. See also two other Bengali works, History of Murshidabad by Nikhil Roy and History of Bengal by R. D. Banerji,

For more critical treatment, Beveridge, J.A.S.B., 1904, pp. 57–63; Dr. James Wise's articles, J.A.S.B., 1874, pp. 194–214; J.A.S.B., 1875, pp. 181–3; Father Hosten, J.A.S.B., 1913, pp. 437–49. The Bengali works as well as these articles contain some information about the Portuguese and Arakanese pirates.

15 In 1613 Hushang, son of Islam Khan, Governor of Bengal, brought some Maghs to court. Jahangir was disgusted with their appearance and manners. 'Briefly' he writes, 'they are animals in the form of men. They eat everything there is either on land or in sea, and nothing is forbidden by their religion. They eat with any one. They take into their possession (marry) their sisters by another mother. In face they are like the Qara Qalmaqs, but their language is that of Tibet and quite unlike Turki .... They have no proper religion or any customs that can be interpreted as religion. They are far from the Mussalman faith and separated from that of the Hindus.' (.R B.), I. 236. Motamad Khan, Kamghar, and Khafi Khan reproduce the account.

jugating Mewar. About this time Jagat Singh died and was succeeded by his son Maha Singh. Such was the situation when Usman broke into open revolt and inflicted on Maha Singh a severe defeat near Bhadarak. He seized several fortresses and established his sway over several districts. He took possession of a vast quantity of ammunition and was gratified to see his ranks swell every day.

Suppressed by Raja Man Singh.

Raja Man Singh hurried with his forces to Bengal and inflicted defeat after defeat on the rebels. His artillery mowed down the ranks of gallant Afghans who scattered in all directions. The Imperial prestige was retrieved, but peace was yet distant. In 1604 Man Singh returned to the court and the Afghans and their allies raised their heads. They refrained from organizing a revolt, but continually harassed the Imperial government and territory.

Insecurity in Bengal.

1605–1608.

This state of things continued during the first three years of Jahangir's reign. Man Singh was replaced in 1606 by Qutb-uddin, who met a bloody death next year. His successor Jahangir Quli Khan, an old man, succumbed to the climate within a year of his assumption of office.[16] The frequent change in the personnel of government was hardly favourable to the pursuit of energetic measures for the restoration of order.

Islam Khan, Governor of Bengal.

The next governor, Islam Khan,[17] was specially charged to cope with the increasing confusion. His youth roused serious misgivings[18] in court circles, but he fully justified the trust reposed in him.

16 Jahangir (R. and B)), I. 78. Iqbalnama, 19.
Also Jahangir (R. and B.), 192, 208. Iqbalnama, 24.
Jahangir Quli Khan, originally named Lala Beg, was the son of a slave of Mohammad Hakim. After the latter's death he entered the service of Akbar who placed him among the attendants of Prince Salim.
(See Iqbalnama, 33-4). M. U.

17 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 32.

18 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 208.

His first act was to transfer the seat of government from Rajmahal to Dacca,[19] now named Jahangirnagar, whence he could deal effectively not only with Usman and his confederate Zamindars, but also with the Maghs.

Transfers the capital to Dacca.

As soon as the refractory Zamindars had been brought fairly on the way to submission, Islam Khan made preparations on an extensive scale to reduce Usman. Shujaat Khan,[20] another of those descendants of Shaikh Salim Chishti who had been the associates, friends, and possibly, inspirers of the rebel Prince Salim, and had, on his accession, been rewarded with high mansabs, was entrusted with the chief command of the expeditionary force. Kishwar Khan, son of the murdered Qutbuddin Khan Koka, Iftikhar Khan, Sayyid Adam Barha, Shaikh Achhay, nephew of Muqarrab Khan, Ihtimam Khan, were among the officers in subordinate command. Mir Qasim, son of Mirza Murad, was appointed to be the Bakhshi (paymaster and Waqianawis (news-writer) of the force.

Reduces the Zamindars, prepares to encounter Usman.

Shujaat Khan.

Officers with Shujaat Khan.

19 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 209. Rahman Ali's Tarikh-i-Dhaka, Bengal, Past and Present, 1909, pp. 212-3.

For seventeenth century Dacca see Piedro Maestro Fray Sebastian Manrique, tr. in Bengal, Past and Present, 1916, Vol. XIII. pp. 2-3. Thevenot, III. 68. Bowrey, pp. 149-50. Tavernier, I. 128. Part II. 55. Also I. G.

20 His original name was Shaikh Kabir. Shujaat Khan was the title conferred on him by the rebel Prince Salim who, on his accession, raised him to the mansab of 1000. (Jahangir R. and B., I. 29).

In 1607 he was promoted to the rank of 1500 zat and 1000 suwar and sent to serve in the Deccan, where he held the post of harawal which the Sayyids of Barha regarded as their hereditary belonging. (*Ibid.*, 113, Blochmann, 519-20).

In 1611 he was recalled from the Deccan, promoted to 2000 zat and 1500 suwar and sent to assist Islam Khan (Jahangir R. and B., I. 192). The emperor's statement that 'I had summoned him from the Deccan for the purpose of sending him to Bengal to Islam Khan, in reality to take his place permanently, and I entrusted him with the charge of that Subah' is due to copyists' errors. Read in the light of what comes after, it can mean nothing. Islam Khan continued to be the Governor of Bengal till 1613. The emperor expresses the highest admiration for the courage and valour of Shujaat Khan.

Several of the Zamindars of the neighbourhood were taken to show the road. It was about this time that Usman hired Subhan Quli (son of Haji Jamal Baluch, the best of Akbar's huntsmen), one of the constant attendants of Islam Khan, to assassinate his master. But the plot was revealed prematurely by one of the conspirators whom Subhan Quli had taken into his confidence.[21]

Plot to assassinate Islam Khan.

The army left Dacca at an auspicious hour and after marching nearly a hundred kos arrived within striking distance of Usman's principal strongholds.

The army leaves Dacca.

A last attempt was made to induce the Afghans to submit peacefully, but it proved utterly futile.[22]

Unsuccessful attempt at peace.

On Sunday, March 12, 1612, Shujaat Khan marshalled his forces in battle array on the marshy bank of a stream at Nek Ujyal, at a distance of a hundred kos from Dacca.[23]

The Battle of Nek Ujyal, 9th Moharram, March 12, 1612.

See also M. U., II. 630.
Blochmann, pp. 519-20.

21 Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 27-8. Subhan Quli was promptly imprisoned but released several years afterwards.

22 It was at this time that, according to Jahangir and Motamad Khan, p. 61, 'eloquent men' were sent to admonish Usman and 'point out to him the way of loyalty, and bring him back from the road of rebellion to the right path.' Stewart places the sending of an ambassador immediately after Islam Khan's appointment. The ambassador, we are told, 'in an eloquent speech attempted to convince the Afghans of the folly of drawing on themselves the imperial arms, and the little chance there was of 'again shaking off the Mughal yoke, which he asserted pressed lighter on them than on any other class of His Majesty's subjects: that, united in the faith of Mohammad, it was their duty, as the inferior power, to bend to and endeavour to assimilate (see p. 326) with the conquerors: that nations rise and fall by destiny: that for six hundred years the Afghans had ruled Hindostan with despotic sway; but that fate had now consigned the sceptre to the Mughals: they ought, therefore, to bear their lot with humility and resignation, and bend down in submission to the divine decree.' (Stewart's History of Bengal, new edition, pp. 237-8).

23 The exact site of the battle cannot be determined. Jahangir (R. and B., I. 210) only says, 'the battlefield happened to be on the bank of a mullah in a place which was a complete bog.' The Iqbalnama (p. 61) echoes the same words.

The Makhzan-i-Afghani, as pointed out by Blochmann (p. 520), places the site of the battle at Nek Ujyal. Blochmann notes that there are

Sayyid Adam Barha and Shaikh Achhay and a few other noted men commanded various sections of the advance guard, while Kishwar Khan was placed in charge of the left wing and Iftikhar Khan of the right wing. The centre included the son, brothers, and sons-in-law of Shujaat and the commander-in-chief himself.

The preparations of the Imperialists drew the Afghan horse and foot from their forts and retreats. They were led by Usman in person who, from the excessive corpulence of his body, could be carried only on an elephant. They charged the Imperialists with great vigour and cut down their advance guard, as well as the right and left wings. Sayyid Adam Barha, Shaikh Achhay, Iftikhar Khan, and Kishwar Khan—all were slain.

The centre, the only section of the Imperial army which remained unbroken, was now the object of a vigorous, heroic charge, led by Usman himself seated on his premier elephant, Bakhla.[24] Many of the Imperialists were slain or wounded, but they succeeded at length in checking the force of the Afghan advance.

Usman drove his raging elephant at Shujaat Khan, who though he struck the beast successively with his javelin, sword, and dagger, was thrown down to the ground with his horse. Fortunately neither was seriously injured and both rose up again. Shujaat Khan's equerry inflicted a severe blow on the front legs of the elephant with a twohanded sword, and, as the animal knelt down, pulled off the driver. Shujaat Khan, while still on foot, now dealt such heavy blows at its trunk and forehead that it turned back precipitately towards its own camp.

At this juncture Usman took his seat on another elephant. As Shujaat Khan was remounting his horse, the enemy directed another elephant at his standard bearer, throwing down his horse and standard. Shujaat himself raised the man and seated

several Ujyals among the parganas of Sirkar Mohmudabad (Boonah) and Sirkar Bazuha (Mymensingh Bogra) in Eastern Bengal. Stewart (p. 134, old quarto edition, and p. 238, new edition) wrongly places the site on the bank of the Suvarnarekha in Orissa.

24 The text of the Tuzuk has Gajpat. But, as Beveridge points out, the B. M. MSS. call it Bakhla. The Iqbalnama also has Bakhla.

him on another horse. The elephant was smitten with arrows, daggers and swords. The battle raged with great fury. At this juncture a gunshot, fired by an unknown hand, fatally wounded Usman on the head. Yet, while fully conscious of the fatal character of his wound, he continued for six hours to guide the movements of his followers. 'The battlefields was still deadly and the struggle warm.'

Usman wounded.

Towards the close of the day, however, the issue was no longer in doubt. The Afghans, greatly depressed by the condition of their leader, were forced to retreat, hotly pursued by the Imperialists. They sought shelter in their fortified entrenchment which, for the time, they defended successfully against the exhausted Imperialists with arrows and guns. Here they resolved to pass the night. Here at midnight Usman passed away, leaving no worthy successor behind.

The Afghans defeated.

Usman dies.

A few hours before sunrise, the Afghans, taking Usman's body with them, but leaving the camp-equipage behind, started for their fort.

The Afghans march towards their fort.

The scouts at once conveyed the news to Shujaat Khan. As the exhausted Imperialists were deliberating whether to give chase at once or wait for a while, they received a welcome reinforcement of 300 horse and 400 musketeers, headed by Abdus Salam, son of Muazzam Khan. A hot pursuit began at once.

Pursuit.

Realizing that no resource was now left to them, the Afghans decided to capitulate. Wali, brother of the late Afghan leader, sent a message to Shujaat Khan to the effect that the prime cause of the disturbance was no more and that they were prepared to submit, and to surrender their elephants, on promise of safety for their lives. Shujaat Khan with the consent of Motaqid Khan and other officers readily gave the requisite guarantee, and, on Tuesday next, March 14, received the homage of Wali, as well as of the sons, brothers, and sons-in-law

Submission of the Afghans.

of Usman. They presented forty-nine elephants as an offering. Leaving trusty officers in Adhar and other recently disturbed places, Shujaat Khan proceeded to join Islam Khan at the headquarters, taking Wali and other Afghan hostages with him.[25]

Jahangir receives news of the victory, 29th Moharram, 1021, April 1, 1612.

Jahangir learnt the news of these happenings from Islam Khan's despatch on April 1, 1612, and was immensely delighted. Shortly after, Usman's head was sent to him.

Islam Khan was rewarded with promotion to 6000 zat, while Shujaat Khan, along with an increase of 1000 zat and suwar, received the title of Rustam Zaman (the Rustam of the age). Suitable rewards were bestowed on all other officers who had distinguished themselves in the affair.[26] Towards the vanquished, Jahangir, as was his wont, adopted a studiously conciliatory policy, seeking to attach them firmly to the throne and enlist their capacities in the service of the State.

Rewards the officers.

Usman indeed may be styled 'the last of the Afghans.' The Mughal empire was no longer to be troubled by any organized Afghan conspiracy or internal rising. On the other hand, Afghans were to take their rightful position in the governmental hierarchy. The historian of the Afghans fully acknowledges the clemency and wisdom of Jahangir's policy and the success with which it was crowned.

Conciliates the Afghans.

'Nuruddin Ghazi (Jahangir),' he observes, 'pardoning them their former trespasses, attached them to himself by the bonds of bounty; and paid so much attention to them, that they abolished all further treasonable designs from their mind, and thought themselves bound to continue subservient and attached to him, even to the sacrifice of life; so that by their praiseworthy exertions, they raised themselves to the rank of Grand Umara

25 They were not killed on the road, as Blochmann (p. 520) states. Jahangir mentions their arrival at court (R. and B., I. 230).

26 For Usman's rebellion see Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 208—215. 230. Iqbalnama 60—63. K. K., I. 273, M. J. Gladwin, 14, 24, 25, 29. Dorn, 183—4. Blochmann, 340-1, and 520-1. De Laet, p. 488, note. M. U., I. 188, Beveridge, I. 210.

and were deemed worthy to be admitted to the Imperial company; and they, in their turn, aspiring after the Imperial favour, and after exalted ranks, were dignified with illustrious titles.'[27]

The Maghs.

No sooner was the Afghan trouble over than Islam Khan prepared to chatise the frontier, half-civilized Arakanese tribe of the Maghs, who had been fishing in the troubled waters of Bengal. Along with Portuguese pirates, they would cruise along the streams and plunder the country round Khizrpur (on the Brahmaputra) and Dacca, capture and enslave as many men, women, and children as they could lay their hands on, and quickly return to their homes. It was high time that they were brought to their senses. It was rumoured indeed that Jahangir had determined to conquer the whole of Arakan.[28] It is to be wished that he had formed and executed such a design. Unfortunately, however, he confined himself to repelling a joint attack of Maghs and Portuguese on Dacca and to a punitive expedition which did not bear much fruit. The Maghs raised their head again and slew the Mughal commandant Murawwat Khan in 1619.[29] A few years later the Mughals made another attempt to grapple with the pestilence. Ibrahim Khan Fath Jang, the Viceroy of Bengal (1617–23), led an expedition in order 'to conquer Chatgaon and destroy the wicked Magh,' but the enterprise ended in failure.[30]

[27] Dorn's Translation of Niamatullah Makhzan-i-Afghani, Part I. p. 184.

[28] See Bishop Dom Pedro's letter to the Viceroy of Goa, Dom Jeronymo de Azevedo, dated March 19, 1612, quoted by Father H. Hosten in J.A.S.B., 1931, p. 438.

The pirates 'pierced the palms of their (prisoners') hands, passed thin canes through the holes, and threw them one above another under the deck of their ships. In the same manner as grain is flung to fowl, every morning and evening they threw down from above uncooked rice to the captives as food. On their return to their homes they employed the few hard-lived captives that survived in tillage and other hard tasks, according to their power, with great disgrace and insult. Others were sold to the Dutch, English and French merchants at the ports of the Deccan.' Shihabuddin Talish's Contemporary Persian account in the Bodleian, MS. 589, translated by J. N. Sarkar in his 'Studies in Mughal India, pp. 123-4.

[29] Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 93.

[30] Shihabuddin Talish; tr. Sarkar's 'Studies in Mughal India' p. 123. Also M. U. Bengal, Past and Present, 1909, pp. 215–7.

It is a curious coincidence that at the very moment when the Afghans were finally crushed and conciliated in the east of India, their ancient compatriots lighted in the west a conflagration which no efforts could extinguish during the reign of Jahangir. The North-West Frontier, indeed, has never known stable order and peace, owing chiefly to its geographical position and physical configuration. The territory between Afghanistan and the Punjab, stretching north to the snowy range of Hindu Kush, is a series of valleys, some of which are more than thirty miles in length and all of which end in 'narrow glens, hemmed in by high precipices or lost in woods and forests. Such a country is full of intricacy and obstruction to an invading army, but affords easy communication to the natives, who know the passes from one valley to another and who are used to make their way even when there is no path to assist them.' The people are handsome, hardy, and sturdy, loving liberty more than life. They multiply fast and the comparative barrenness of the country turns their eyes longingly to the rich, fertile neighbouring plains. So largely does the growth of moral ideas depend on environment that the frontier tribes, like the Northmen and Highlanders of yore, regard pillage as the most honourable of occupations. Ever and anon they descend on the trans-Indus districts of the Punjab. They are easily chased back, but nothing is more difficult than to break them to peace and order in their mountain homes. Generally they live in autonomous clans, but political danger or religious fanaticism occasionally converts them into a formidable confederacy.

The North-West Frontier.

Physical features.

Character of the people.

During the eighties of the sixteenth century, the fanatical Bayazid assumed the role of a prophet, attracted the frontier tribes to his banner by his fervid eloquence and talent for command, founded the Raushaniyya fraternity (the Illuminati), and declared war on the Mughal dominion. On his death in 1585 his mantle fell on his energetic son, Jalal, who, in his turn,

Bayazid.

Jalal.

found capable successors who kept the neighbouring regions in perpetual turmoil.

Ahdad.

In 1611 Ahdad surprised Kabul in the absence of its Governor, Khan Dauran. Muizzulmulk, the commandant of a small detachment, enrolled a large citizen militia, barricaded streets, fortified houses, and offered a valiant resistance. No less than 800 of the assailants, including Bargi, one of the principal lieutenants of Ahdad, succumbed to the shower of arrows and shots from above. Meanwhile, the countryside had risen in self-defence and the raiders, apprehensive of being hemmed in on both sides, beat a hasty retreat. They were pursued for a short distance by Nad Ali who quickly appeared on the scene from Lahugar. Kabul was saved but the trouble was not stamped out. Muizzulmulk and Nad Ali were promoted to higher rank, while the negligent Khan Dauran was degraded to a lower office and was succeeded in the governorship by the old, faithful Qulij Khan.[31]

The new governor was constantly thwarted by his predecessor and other subordinates. The emperor commissioned Khwaja Jahan to hold an inquiry into the disputes. Qulij Khan was transferred to Peshawar to watch the Raushaniyyas. Here in 1613 he breathed his last at the advanced age of eighty.[32] His loss, coupled with dissensions among the Imperial officers, only facilitated the career of Ahdad. In 1614 he appeared with nearly 5,000 foot and horse at Kot Tirah, slaughtered and captured many a royal trooper, and planned raids on Jalalabad and Pish Bulagh, which lay at a short distance. Fortunately, Khan Dauran appeared in his rear, while Motaqid Khan, commandant of Ailam Guzar, in the district of Peshawar, surprised him at Pish Bulagh and routed him with the loss of 1,500 men, 500 horses, plenty of cattle, baggage and arms. The Imperialists chased him for a few miles, rested at night on the battle-

31 Badauni (Lowe), II. 360. Elphinstone, 517–21. Jahangir (R. and B.), 197–9. Iqbalnama, 53. Imperial Gazetteers.

32 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 230-1, 253. Gladwin, 22.

field and next morning raised at Peshawar a pyramid of 600 human skulls after the fashion of Timur.[33]

Ahdad, however, had escaped and soon created a fresh army out of the floating mass of freebooters. The continuous imperial chase drove him into the stronghold of Charkh, where he was closely besieged by Khan Dauran. The complete exhaustion of fodder led the besieged to take their horses and cattle by secret passes to graze on the skirts of the hills. The discovery of the venture was followed by a night ambush resulting in a prolonged battle which cost Ahdad 300 killed and 100 prisoners. Charkh was taken and burnt to ashes, but Ahdad contrived to escape towards Qandahar.[34] He was soon reduced to powerlessness, but meanwhile serious trouble had begun in Bangash. Towards the close of 1617 Mahabat Khan with Rashid Khan and Raja Kalyan as his principal lieutenants was appointed Governor of Kabul and was charged with the pacification of Bangash. He took with him Allahdad, son of Jalal, then resident at the court, leaving his brother and son as hostages. But Mahabat Khan was sorely disappointed in the hope that Allahdad would exert his influence over the Afghans in favour of the Imperial cause. He brought defeat and disgrace on a contingent which he was deputed to lead against the Afghans and then broke into open revolt. It was only after the most strenuous exertions that Mahabat Khan brought him to surrender and sent him to court in 1619. On the intercession of Itimad-ud-daulah, he was pardoned. Henceforward he was faithful to the Mughals and rose to high distinction under the title of Rashid Khan, during the reign of Shah Jahan.[35]

His absence had little effect on the insurrection in Bangash. A bitter fight raged with intermissions all through the reign of Jahangir. No quarter was given on either side. Mahabat Khan played the strong man with disastrous results. Once at the harvest season of 1619 he despatched an armed

[33] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 263.
[34] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 311-2.
[35] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 402. II. 82, 85, 120, 153, 215, 245. M. U., II. 248. Dabistan, 390.

force under the impetuous Izzat Khan to devastate the rebel territory, but the Afghans were ready to receive them and cut the Imperialists to pieces. Their fate was more than avenged by an Imperial detachment under Akbar Quli; rapine and slaughter filled Bangash.[36]

In 1622 Mahabat Khan was recalled to cope with the rebellion of Shah Jahan and Imperial authority was practically destroyed in Bangash for the rest of Jahangir's reign.

[36] Jahangir (R. and B.), II., 160-1.

CHAPTER X

MEWAR

In sharp contrast to the failure of Mughal arms and policy in Bangash stands the reduction and conciliation of Mewar, the sole remnant of Rajput independence. No community that ever existed can boast of a more romantic history, of more heroic exploits, of a prouder sense of honour and self-respect than the Rajputs of mediæval India. That epic composed by the sympathetic hand of Colonel James Tod,[1] which passes under the prosaic name of 'The Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan,' still furnishes and will long furnish the most exciting plots and situations to the Indian dramatist and novelist. As one glides through Rajput tradition, the mind staggers at the heights of valour, devotion, and altruism to which humanity can soar.

Introduction.

The Rajput spirit appears in its very quintessence in the chequered annals of Mewar. For one thing the physical configuration of the country favours the development of a rugged, hardy type of character. Situated in the south-west of Rajputana, its north-eastern and south-eastern portions form fertile, well-watered plains, enjoying a fair degree of rainfall and yielding two harvests a year. But even the plains are interspersed by 'long strips of waste and rocky sierras' with single hills towering aloft while the south-western and specially the entire north-western sections of the country form one vast group of mountains, hills, valleys, and fairly dense forests all intermixed together.[2] The country had for centuries past been ruled by the Shishodia clan of Rajputs who displayed in a fully developed form the clannish spirit, the love of freedom and of war, which both history and contem-

The physical configuration of Mewar.

The people.

[1] The best edition of Tod is that published by Routledge and Sons, London.
[2] Rajputana Gazetteer, Vol. II, p. 6.

porary experience associate with the sons of hills and mountains. Besides the ruling clan, other Rajputs and ordinary civilized inhabitants, there were found, in the hills and valleys of the Aravalli range, large numbers of aboriginal Bhils, rugged, hardy, half-civilized men and women subsisting on the scanty produce, on the chase, and on plunder.

Rajput alliance with the Bhils.

It was no mean achievement of the Shishodias to have converted these neighbours into faithful allies and loyal subjects and to have won their enthusiastic love and devotion. Their intimate knowledge of the crags and defiles, narrow, obscure passes and hidden, mysterious pathways was of the highest value to the Rajputs in their days of adversity. But for them, the history of Mewar might have run a different course.

Mewar and the Delhi Empire.

Through Mewar or close to her boundary passed the highways of commerce between the fertile Gangetic plains and the emporiums of trade on the western coast. So long as Mewar was independent, the merchants of the Delhi empire could not expect on these highways adequate security of person and property or freedom from vexatious tolls. That was one reason why the Mughal emperors could never reconcile themselves to the idea of an independent Mewar. There was, of course, the Imperialistic motive which prompted the extinction of the last relics of Rajput independence, but in fairness to the Mughals it is necessary to emphasize the economic cause which has generally been overlooked by historians.

Mewar history.

The history of Mewar in the pre-Akbar days, with its various wars against the other Rajput States, its glorious resistance to the arms of the great Delhi king, Alauddin Khilji, its control of Malwa politics under Rana Kumbha, its memorable bid for supremacy over Northern India under Rana Sanga, its struggle against Bahadur Shah of Gujarat, its dealings with the emperor Humayun, lies beyond the scope of this work.

During the reign of Akbar, Mewar had to wage an unequal contest with the mighty Mughal Empire. The exploits of

Rana Pratap form the theme of a noble bardic literature in Rajputana. He succeeded in regaining a large part of his territory, but was forced to relinquish all designs on the ancestral fortress of Chittor and the surrounding level country which lay exposed to Mughal incursions.[3]

During the days of Akbar.

He had the satisfaction of having preserved his honour and independence unsullied, but his last moments were clouded by 'the presentiment that his son Amar would abandon his fame for inglorious repose. A powerful sympathy is excited by the picture which is drawn of this final scene. The dying hero is represented in a lowly dwelling; his chiefs, the faithful companions of many a glorious day, awaiting round his pallet the dissolution of their prince, when a groan of mental anguish made Saloombra inquire, "What afflicted his soul that it would not depart in peace"? He rallied: "It lingered," he said, "for some consolatory pledge that his country should not be abandoned to the Turk," and, with the death-pang upon him, he related an incident which had guided his estimate of his son's disposition and now tortured him with the reflection, that for

Pratap's death scene, (Samvat 1653) 1597 A.D.

[3] Tod, I. 264–78.

'Had Mewar possessed her Thucydides or her Xenophon, neither the wars of the Peloponnesus nor the retreat of 'the ten thousand' would have yielded more diversified incidents for the historic muse than the deeds of this brilliant reign amid the many vicissitudes of Mewar. Undaunted heroism, inflexible fortitude, that which 'keeps honour bright,' perseverance with fidelity such as no nation can boast were opposed to a soaring ambition, commanding talents, unlimited means and the fervour of religious zeal; all, however, insufficient to contend with one unconquerable mind. There is not a pass in the alpine Aravelli that is not sanctified by some deed of Pratap—some brilliant victory and oftener some glorious defeat. Haldighat is the Thermopylæ of Mewar; the field of Dewar her Marathon.' Tod, I. 278.

An immense number of Rajput khyats or bardic histories, in the rugged Dingal verse, are preserved in Mewar, Bundi, Jaisalmere, and other Rajput States. They were utilized by the late Kaviraj Shyamal Das in his Bir Vinoda printed for, and then (it is said) suppressed by, the Udaipur Darbar. A few copies of this valuable work are to be found here and there. I consulted a manuscript copy of it at Jodhpur. Since I have seen a printed copy at the Kashi Nagri Pracharini Sabha Library, Benares. For the original Rajput khyats, I am indebted largely to Munshi Debi Prasad of Jodhpur.

personal ease he would forego the remembrance of his own and his country's wrongs.

'On the banks of the Peshola, Pratap and his chiefs had constructed a few huts (the site of the future palace of Udaipur) to protect them from the inclemency of the rains in the day of their distress. Prince Amar forgetting the lowliness of the dwelling, a projecting bamboo of the roof caught the folds of his turban and dragged it off as he retired. A hasty emotion which disclosed a varied feeling was observed with pain by Pratap, who thence adopted the opinion that his son would never withstand the hardships necessary to be endured in such a cause. "These sheds," said the dying prince, "will give way to sumptuous dwellings, thus generating the love of ease; and luxury with its concomitants will ensue, to which the independence of Mewar, which we have bled to maintain, will be sacrificed, and you, my chiefs, will follow the pernicious example." They pledged themselves, and became guarantees for the prince, "by the throne of Bappa Rawul," that they would not permit mansions to be raised until Mewar had recovered her independence. The soul of Pratap was satisfied and with joy he expired.'[4] The heroic struggle which he waged all his life won for his house the highest veneration of Hindus all over India.[5]

Amar Singh's accession.

Amar Singh, the eldest of Rana Pratap's seventeen sons, whose temperament caused such uneasiness to his dying parent, ascended the throne in 1597. 'From the early age of eight to the hour of his parents' death he had been his constant companion and the partner of his toils and dangers. Initiated by his noble sire in every act of mountain strife, familiar with its perils, he entered on his career in the very flower of manhood, already attended by sons able to maintain whatever his sword might

[4] Tod, I. 277-8. Akbar is said to have been deeply impressed by the news of Pratap's death. As he sat silent, Dursa Adha composed a fine ode in eulogy of the deseased hero. Bir Vinoda, p. 241.

[5] 'The Indians who are gentiles (Hindus) have the same veneration for this prince as the Romans have for the Pope.' De Laet tr. Lethbridge, Calcutta Review, LI. 1870, p. 351.

recover of his patrimoney.' Though not fair in complexion, he was 'the tallest and strongest of all the princes of Mewar.' Just and kind, generous and valorous, he was capable of winning the esteem of his nobles and the love of his subjects. Though destined to justify partially at least the misgivings of his father, he displayed nothing but wisdom and statesmanship in his first acts after his accession.[6]

Reforms.

He 'remodelled the institutions of his country, made a new assessment of the lands and distribution of the fiefs, apportioning the service to the times. He also established the gradation of ranks such as yet exists, and regulated the sumptuary laws even to the tie of a turban,[7] and many of these are to be seen engraved on pillars of stone in various parts of the country.'[8] Hindi literature owes a deep debt to him. Under his patronage was edited *Chand Bardai's* Prithwiraj Raso, one of the grandest poems in Hindi. He stands to the great epic in much the same relation that Peisistratus bears to the Homeric poems.

Invasion by Salim and Man Singh.

From the labours of peace, however, his attention was soon distracted by the expedition which his hereditary foe despatched against him. Akbar, as he left for the Deccan in 1599, commissioned Prince Salim and Raja Man Singh to invade Mewar. The prince loitered in ease and luxury at Ajmere, but his lieutenants exerted themselves with vigour, and established strong outposts at Untala, Mohi, Bagor, Mandal, Mandalgarh, Chittor, and other places. The Rajputs offered a gallant resistance. Amar Singh led the attack on all the hostile outposts. The war took its usual course. The Rajputs plundered Balpur and several other places in the Imperial territory, but were repulsed by the Mughals who retaliated by ravaging their fields and burning

[6] Tod, I. 278, 292. Amar Singh was crowned at Chavand on the 11th Magh, Shukla Samvat, 1653, which corresponds to January 29, A.D. 1597, and 9 Jamad II, A.H. 1005. Bir Vinoda, p. 241.

[7] 'The Amarsahi pagri or turban is still used by the Rana and some nobles on court days, but the foreign nobility have the privilege, in this respect, of conforming to their own tribes.' Tod's note, I. 280.

[8] Tod, I. 280.

their habitations. Several thousands of the natives were made prisoners. The Rajputs retreated into the hills. The operations were, however, suddenly brought to a standstill. Raja Man Singh was urgently called to Bengal by the intelligence of Usman's revolt and the disaffected Salim marched away towards Agra.

Interrupted.

On his reconciliation with Akbar, in 1603, the prince was required to resume the enterprise where he had left in 1599, but he practically refused to march further than Fathpur Sikri. Akbar meditated another campaign under Prince Khusrau and the traitor Sagar whom he had designated Rana when he was overtaken by his fatal illness.[9]

Proposed expedition under Khusrau.

Prevented by Akbar's death.

On his accession to the throne Jahangir at once adopted his father's foreign policy on all fronts of the empire and, in the very first year of his reign, despatched against Mewar a large force of 20,000 horse under the nominal command of Prince Parvez, but really under Asaf Khan Jaffar Beg who had highly distinguished himself in the last regime.[10]

Jahangir resumes Akbar's policy.

Expedition under Asaf Khan.

9 A. N. III. 831. E. and D. VI. 98-9. Muhammad Hadi, p. 8.
De Laet tr. Lethbridge, Calcutta Review, LVII. 1873, CXIII. p. 195.
K. K., I. 216-7. Dorn, History of the Afghans,, 183.
Gladwin, III.
Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 16-17.
Bir Vinoda, p. 243.

Rajput tradition is mistaken in assigning the only repose enjoyed by Pratap during his last years to 'a generous sentiment of Akbar, prompted by the great Khan Khana, whose mind appears to have been captivated by the actions of the Rajput prince. (Tod, I. 276).

A rancorous hostility, intensified by insults on both sides, existed between the Rajas of Amber and the Ranas of Mewar. See the Kachhwaha Banshavali, Jaipur MS., pp. 67-8. Sagar is represented as deserting to Man Singh and Akbar because Pratap did not respect one of his feuds. For his romantic adventures, Bir Vinoda, 245—9.

10 Jahangir (R. and B.), 1, 16. Iqbalnama, 7. Maasir-i-Jahangiri (Khuda Bakhsh MS.), p. 36 (*a*). K. K., I. 249. Gladwin's (p. 2) expression about the Rana's 'having shaken off the yoke upon the death of Akbar' is misleading.

Asaf Khan Mirza Qiwamuddin Jaffar Beg, son of Badiuzzaman, vizier of Kashan in the reign of Shah Tahmasp Safavi, had in the prime of his

Abdur Razzaq Mamuri was appointed Bakhshi and Mukhtar Beg, paternal uncle of Asaf Khan, diwan to Parvez.

His officers.

Raja Jagannath, son of Raja Bhar Mal, and a high nobleman of the rank of 5,000, was to add his contingent to the force. 'Rana' Sagar, uncle of the

youth migrated to India in 1577 and entered the service of Akbar, who gave him a mansab of twenty in the contingent of his maternal uncle, Mirza Ghiyasuddin Ali Asaf Khan Bakhshi. Dissatisfied with his low rank, he gave it up and ceased to attend the court. 'The emperor was displeased and sent him to Bengal, which was an unheatlhy climate then, and where criminals who were sent there did not survive.'

While in Bengal, whither he had proceeded solely in reliance on God, he distinguished himself in the campaign against the rebel Masum Khan Kabuli and, when captured at length, cleverly escaped all demands for ransom and waited on Akbar once more. Shortly after he was raised to 2 000, styled Asaf Khan, appointed Mir Bakhshi and sent against the Rana of Mewar. Later (1587–93) he distinguished himself in the warfare against the frontier tribes. In 1594 he organized the administration of the newly conquered country of Kashmir, of which he was appointed governor three years later.

In 1599 he was appointed Diwan kul (whole Diwan) and 'carried on the duties for two years in a consummate manner.' During Salim's rebellion he adopted an attitude of hostility to the prince. In 1604, when Prince Salim was appointed to Gujrat, Asaf Khan consented to be made governor of Allahabad and Bihar. That is why Jahangir says while he was prince, Asaf Khan 'had several times done foolish things, and most men, indeed Khusrau himself, were of opinion that I would do unpleasant things (in regard to him).' But, in pursuance of his conciliatory policy, the new emperor, 'in a manner contrary to what had entered the minds of himself and others,' as he says, 'favoured him and promoted him to the rank of 5,000 personal and horse, and after he had for some time been vizier with full authority, neglected no time in increasing favour towards him.' He was, however, suspected of privity to the Khusrau conspiracy hatched on Jahangir's march from Kabul in 1607. (Jahangir, I. 222-3.) He was one of the numerous Mughal nobles who combined deep learning with high military or administrative capacity. 'He was,' says the author of the Maasir-ul-umara, 'one of the unique of the age.' He was supreme in every science and complete in all knowledge. His swift intelligence and lofty capacity were famous. He himself used to say, 'Whatever I don't comprehend off-hand will turn out to be without meaning! They say he could read a whole series of lines at a glance. In eloquence, skill, and the disposal of financial and political matters he was pre-eminent. He was adorned outwardly and inwardly. He had great power in poetry and in polite literature. In the opinion of many no one has treated better than he the subject of Khusrau and Shirin since the days of S. Nizami of Ganj.'

Jahangir himself bears testimony to the loftiness of his understanding, his ready wit and his practical capacity.

For Asaf Khan, see Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 222-3.

Rana Amar Singh,[11] too was deputed to accompany the expedition.[12] The commanders were instructed to call upon the Rana, to render homage and service, and, in case of compliance, to refrain from any molestation of his territory.[13]

Rajput nobles repair to Amar.

Amar Singh himself, who had now fallen to an easy, pleasure-loving life, may have been ready to respond to the Imperial summons and save his lands from injury, but the adherents of the late Pratap were not prepared to sell their souls. Headed by the gallant Chandawat Shalumbra, they went to Amar Singh's palace to demand the fulfilment of 'the dying behest of their late glorious head.'

Scene at the palace.

'A magnificent mirror of European fabrication adorned the embryo palace. Animated with a noble resentment at the inefficacy of his appeals to the better feelings of his prince, the chieftain of Shalumbra hurled "the slave of the carpet"[14] against the splendid bauble, and starting up seized his sovereign by the arm and moved him from the throne. "To horse, Chiefs!" he exclaimed, "and preserve from infamy the son of Pratap." A burst of passion followed the seeming indignity; and the patriot chief was branded with the harsh name of traitor; but with his sacred duty in view, and supported by every vassal of note, he calmly disregarded the insult. Compelled to mount his steed, and surrounded by the veterans and all the chivalry of Mewar, Amar vented his passion in tears of indignation. In such a mood the cavalcade descended the ridge, since studded with palaces, and had reached the spot where the temple of Jagan-

Iqbalnama, 4—7. Khafi Khan follows Jahangir and Motamad Khan. M. U. (Beveridge), I. 282—7.
Blochmann, 411-2.
Gladwin, 26.
Beale's Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p. 80.

[11] Jahangir calls Shankar, cousin of the Rana, but the Rajput annals clearly state him to have been a brother of Rana Pratap and therefore uncle of Rana Amar Singh (See Tod, I. 281).

[12] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 16-17.

[13] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 26. Gladwin, p. 2.

[14] 'A small brass ornament placed at the corners of the carpet to keep it steady.' Tod's note, I. 280.

nath now stands, when he recovered from his fit of passion; the tears ceased to flow, and passing his hand over his moustache, he made a courteous salutation to all, entreating their forgiveness for this omission of respect; but more specially exclaiming his gratitude to Shalumbra, he said, 'Lead on nor shall you ever have to regret your late sovereign.'[15]

Amar regains himself.

The bards claim a crushing victory for the Rajputs over the Mughal forces at the pass of Dewar,[16] while the Persian historians clearly state that the campaign inclined decidedly in favour of their patrons.[17]

Indecisive fighting.

As a matter of fact while each side did win solitary engagements, there was no decisive battle at all. The borderland was, of course, mercilessly ravaged and the inhabitants driven from their abodes, but at this juncture broke out Khusrau's revolt and the imperial forces were recalled. Asaf Khan concluded a truce near Mandalgarh,[18] where Amar Singh was represented by Prince Bagha. But the Mughals had already installed Sagar as Rana at Chittor though he failed to create the intended schism in the Rajput nobility.[19]

Truce.

Installation of Sagar.

15 Tod, I. 280-1.

16 'Elevated with every sentiment of geneorsity and valour, they (the Rajputs) passed on to Dewar, where they encountered the royal army led by the brother of the Khan Khana, as it entered the pass, and which, after a long and sanguinary combat, they entirely defeated. The honours of the day are chiefly attributed to the brave Khana uncle to the Rana and ancestor to that numerous clan, called after him Kanawuts.' Tod's date of this battle Samvat 1604=A.D. 1608 cannot be correct. Tod, I. 281.

17 Jahangir says that before his letter of recall reached Parvez, 'the Rana had been so humbled that he had sent to Asaf Khan to say that as by his own acts he had come to shame and disgrace, he hoped that he would intercede for him in such a way that the prince would be content with his sending Bagha, who was one of his sons. Parvez had not agreed to this, and said that either the Rana himself should come or that he should send Karan.' Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 74.

He is followed by Motamad Khan, Kamgar, Khafi Khan, and others.

18 Mandalgarh is situated in 25° 30′ N. and 75° 7′ E., about a hundred miles north-east of the city of Udaipur. Its population in 1901 was only 1,462. See Rajputana Gazetteer, II. 118.

19 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 70, 74. Iqbalnama, 17. K. K., I. 254.
Bir Vinoda, p. 249. Tod, I. 281. (See p. 361.)
Bir Vinoda, p. 249. Tod, I. 281. (See p. 361).

So ended the first scene of the drama. Two years later, in 1608, the emperor sent another force of 12,000 'fully armed cavalry,' 500 ahadis, 2,000 musketeers, sixty elephants, eighty pieces of small artillery mounted on camels and elephants, with a sum of twenty lakhs of rupees for expenses. The whole contingent was placed under the command of no less a man than Mahabat Khan.[20]

Expedition under Mahabat Khan.

As might be expected, Mahabat Khan opened the campaign with great vigour and energy. The impression which he produced on the brave Rajputs contributed to the growth of the legend that he himself was a Rajput by birth. He wasted the plain country and forced the enemy to seek shelter in the hills and jungles. Raja Kishan Singh, one of the subordinates of Mahabat Khan, highly distinguished himself and inflicted a severe defeat on the Rajputs, slaying twenty of their nobles and capturing about 3,000 of their soldiers, though himself receiving a severe wound in the leg.[21]

20 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 145. Iqbalnama, 34. K. K., I. 259. Gladwin, 17.

Curiously enough, Colonel Tod (I. 285-6) has placed some of the events of this year in the year 1610-11. Jahangir is said to have given the command of the expedition filled out at Ajmere to his son Parvez with the instruction 'that if the Rana or his eldest son Karan should repair to him, to receive them with becoming attention, to offer no molestation to the country.' This is precisely the instruction given by the emperor in 1606.

The retreat of Parvez in obedience to the imperial summons in 1606 is represented as an utter rout towards Ajmere in 1611.

Jahangir's remark 'I ordered my son Parvez to leave some of the sardars to look after the Rana and come to Agra with Asaf Khan,' etc. (R. and B., I. 70) is represented as thus in Tod: 'I recalled Parvez to join me at Lahore, and directed his son with some chiefs to be left to watch the Rana.' Jahangir certainly was at Lahore in 1606, but not in 1611 as Tod's narrative supposes. Parvez, born himself in 1589, could not have in 1606 or 1611 a son old enough to be left, with royal offcers, to watch the Rana.

But 'this son,' we are told, 'tutored by the great Mahabat Khan, fared no better than Parvez; he was routed and slain.',This is wholly wrong.

21 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 147, 151.

Gladwin, 17-18.

Tod, I. 282.

Mahabat Khan left the court for Mewar on 24 Rabi II. 1016.

Jahangir rewarded Kishan Singh with promotion to 2,000 zat and 1,000 suwar.

But while success leaned to the Mughals in more than one isolated engagement, they failed to make head against the forest-covered hills and vales of Mewar; nor could they effectually meet the guerilla tactics of the foe. In 1609 Mahabat Khan was replaced by Abdullah Khan, a valorous soldier, a rash commander, and a cruel ruthless sort of man.[22]

Abdullah Khan replaces Mahabat Khan, 1609.

Abdullah Khan opened the campaign with characteristic force and dash[23] and pressed the Rajputs closely in their wild retreats. He attacked Mihrpur, the refuge of the Rana himself, and though he failed to capture him, reduced the place to sore straits. From his military station of Kumbhalmir he cut off the contingent of a great Rajput chief, Bairam Deo Solankhi. He again pursued Amar Singh into the wilds putting him to adventures and hazards which recalled the glories of Rana Pratap. On one

Presses the Rajputs close.

22 Khwajah Abdullah, a descendant of Khwaja Ubed Ullah Nasiruddin Ahrar and nephew of Khwajah Hasan Naqshbandi had migrated from Hisar in Transoxiana, along with his brothers, Yadgar and Barkhosdar, to India in the year 1592 and entered the service of Akbar. He served for a time under one of his relations Sher Khwajah in the Deccan. 'Wherever there was fighting, he distinguished himself.' Later he entered the ranks of Ahadis and was placed in service with Prince Salim who, when in revolt against his father, made him a Khan and a mansabdar of 1,500. Falling out with Sharif Khan, the Prince's principal officer, he deserted to Akbar and received from him the title of Safdar Jang and the rank of 1,000. Jahangir, on his accession to the throne, confirmed his rank and jagir, recognizing that, in spite of his fault, he was 'a manly and zealous man.'

In 1606 he was promoted to 2,500 zat and 500 suwar. In the same year he captured the rebel Ram Chandra Bundela and produced him in court, receiving for his services the rank of 3,000 zat and 2,000 suwar. Towards the close of 1607 he intercepted, and mostly butchered, a party which, headed by the recalcitrant Badiuzzaman, son of Mirza Shahrukh, was on its way to join the Rana of Mewar.

For Abdullah Khan see Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 27, 72, 82, 87, 127, 140, 155, 157. Muhammad Hadi, p. 7, M. U. (Beveridge), I. 97–105.

23 Shortly after he left for Mewar, Abdullah Khan received a reinforcement of 370 ahadis and 100 horses from the royal stables to be distributed among officers and ahadis.

Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 156.

Maasir-i-Jahangiri [Khuda Bakhsh MS., 61, (*a*) (*b*)].

In 1609 Raja Jagannath died at Mandal. His chhatri or memorial of white stone may still be seen. Bir Vinoda, p. 253. For the inscription on the chhatri, *Ibid.*, p. 299.

occasion, the advent of the darkness alone saved the life of Amar.[24]

Even Abdullah suffered a heavy defeat at the pass of the sacred Ranpoor,[25] but on the whole, it must be admitted, he managed the campaign remarkably well. In 1611 he inflicted a heavy defeat on the heir-apparent of Mewar, the renowned Prince Karan, who was accompanied by some of the most valiant of Rajput chiefs.[26] As the author of the Maasir-ul-Umara observes, Abdullah made a name for himself. His master raised him to the rank of 5,000 and bestowed on him the lofty title of Firoz Jang.

Defeated at Ranpoor.

Defeats Karan.

But the exigencies of the Deccan war led the Emperor to transfer him to Gujarat where, as governor, he was to organize the resources of the province and co-operate in a grand offensive against Ahmadnagar.[27] In the Mewar command, he was succeeded, on his own recommendation, by

Transferred to Gujarat.

Succeeded by Raja Basu.

24 Kumbhalmir or Kumbhalgarh is situated in 25° 9′ N. and 73° 35′ E., about forty miles north of the city of Udaipur, and 'stands on a rocky hill, 3,568 feet above sea level, commanding a fine view of the wild and rugged scenery of the Aravallis and sandy deserts of Mewar.' The fort was built by Rana Kumbha between 1443-1458.

Rajputana Gazetteer, II. 116.
For the campaign, M. U. (Beveridge), I. 97-8.
Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 157.
Gladwin, 23.

25 Tod I. 281. The Rajput annals wrongly state that the imperial army was almost exterminated, but admit that the Rajputs lost some of their best and bravest chiefs, such as 'Dudu Sangawut of Deograh, Narayan Das, Surajmal, Aiskurn, all Shishodias of the first rank; Puranmal, son of Bhan, the chief of the Suktawuts; Hari Das Rathor, Bhupat the Jhala of Sadri, Kabirdas Kachhwaha, Keshodas Chauhan of Bardla, Mukund Das Rathor, Jaimalta or of the blood of Jainmal.' Tod's note.

'A feverish exultation was the fruit of this victory, which shed a hectic flush of glory over the declining days of Mewar, when the crimson banner once more floated throughout the province of Godwar.'

26 Bir Vinoda, 253-4. Among the companions of Prince Karan are mentioned Shardul Singh and Madhava Singh, sons of Udai Singh; Shaikha Rana, Sahasmal, sons of Pratap Singh; Bagh Singh, Arjun Singh, sons of Rana Amar Singh; Jhala Shatru Shah; Solankhi Birabhdeva; Rathor Kishan Das, son of Gopal Das; Rathor Haridas, son of Balua; Shishodia Madhava Singh; Sendhal Bedo; Sanwaldas Bidavata; Rathor Bhim Kurna;

Raja Basu,[28] a valiant but rather reckless general who failed to achieve anything. On the other hand, he was suspected of secret complicity with the enemy[29] and was soon superseded by Mirza Aziz Koka who, disgusted with the Deccan situation, burnt to signalise his valour against Mewar.[30]

Raja Basu suspected of complicity with Amar; replaced by Aziz Koka.

The Mirza had not stood on very cordial terms with the emperor whom he had sought to supersede. Nor could he get over his natural affection for his son-in-law Khusrau. When the latter fled towards the west, Jahangir had thought it necessary to take the Mirza with him in the pursuit.[31] His relations with the upstart Sharif were so strained that the latter is said to have

The latter's relations with Jahangir.

Devara Patta Kalawat Sendhal Amara Bhandavat; Sendhal Toga Bhadavat, Chudavat Duda Sangavat, etc.

27 M. U. (Beveridge), I. 98.
Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 155.
Gladwin, 19.
For Abdullah Khan's Mewar campaign see also Maasir-i-Jahangiri (Khuda Bakhsh MS., 62-3).

28 Raja Basu was a 'Zamindar' of Mau and Pathankot in the Bari Duab of the Punjab and close to the northern hills. During Akbar's reign he had several times broken into open revolt, in 1586, 1596, 1603, and 1604. He allied himself with the rebel Prince Salim whom he accompanied to Agra. He pitched his camps outside the city on the other side of the Jumna while the Prince undertook to intercede with the emperor for his pardon. Akbar sent Madhu Singh Kachhwa to seize the recalcitrant Raja, but he somehow got news of it and fled away. He presented himself in 1605 at the court of Jahangir who raised him to 3,000.
A. N. III. 833.
Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 200.
Gladwin, p. 23.
M. U. (Beveridge), I. 392-4.

29 Raja Basu is said to have received from Amar Singh an idol which had been worshipped by Mirabai, the celebrated fifteenth century Queen of Chittor, who recognized Krishna as her all-in-all, and who composed many fervently devotional songs which are still sung in Northern India. The idol is said to have been deposited at Nurpur in the territory of Raja Basu. The grant transferring the possession of the idol still exists.
Bir Vinoda, p. 254.

30 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 234, M. U. (Beveridge), I. 329. Both Jahangir and Shah Nawaz Khan represent Aziz as basing his request on his eagerness to acquire merit in a war against the infidels.

31 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 54.

counselled Jahangir to execute him.[32] Next year, at Lahore, in full darbar, Aziz was told to read a letter which he had written to Raja Ali Khan of Khandesh, in one of his splenetic moods, violently denouncing his master Akbar and which had fallen, through the Raja's librarian, into the hands of an Imperial officer, Khwaja Abdul Hasan, who duly forwarded it to court. The scene furnished the numerous enemies of Aziz with a splendid occasion to satisfy the ancient grudge they bore him by heaping reproach and abuse on him. Jahangir himself did not miss the opportunity of paying off old scores. 'Leaving aside the treacheries,' he thundered, 'which in reliance on your worthless self you contrived against my fortune, what was done to you by my father, who raised you and your family from the dust of the road to such wealth and dignity as to make you the envy of your contemporaries, that you should write these things to the enemies of his Empire? Why did you enrol yourself amongst the wicked and disloyal? Truly, what can one make of an original nature and innate disposition? Since your temperament has been nourished by the water of treachery, what

Discovery of his letter to Raja Ali of Khandesh.

Jahangir's reproaches.

32 A remarkable story is given by the author of the M. U. (Beveridge, I. 328). Hot words having passed between the Amirulumara and the Khan Azam and the matter having been reported to His Majesty, a private council was held, we may presume in Gusul Khana. The Amirulumara urged that the Khan Azam should at once be executed. Mahabat Khan said, 'I don't understand discussions. I am a soldier. I have a strong sword, and I'll strike his waist. If it does not divide it into two pieces, you can cut off my hand.' Khan Jahan Lodi, in his turn for speech ventured to put in a word for the old man. 'I am confounded by his good fortune,' he submitted, 'for wherever His Majesty's (Akbar's) name has gone, his too has been bruited abroad. I do not perceive any manifest indication of wrong-doing on his part which would make him worthy of death. If you kill him all the world will regard him as a victim.'

At this moment, a voice called out from behind the purdah, 'Your Majesty, all the Begams are assembled in the zenana for the purpose of interceding for Mirza Koka. It will be better if you come there. Otherwise they will come to you.' The emperor could not disregard Sultan Salima Begam, for it was she, and repaired to the female apartments. The expostulations of the ladies forced him to overlook the remarks of the Khan Azam and to forgive him and even to give him opium from his own special pellets.

else can spring up but such actions? Passing over what you did to myself, I gave you the rank you had held before, thinking that your treachery was directed against me only. Since it has become known that you behaved in a similar way to your benefactor and visible deity, I leave you to the thoughts and actions which you formerly had and still have."[33]

Thanks to the powerful support of the old nobles of Akbar's reign and of the royal ladies and to his own age, reputation, and past services to the empire, the Khan Azam could not be executed but he was deprived of his rank and jagir and kept under surveillance.

Aziz Koka is punished.

The same influences which saved him from death combined to restore him to liberty and rank. In 1608 the emperor appointed him Governor of Gujarat with the stipulation that he himself should continue at court and send his eldest son, Jahangir Quli Khan, as his deputy. Jahangir himself never took kindly to him, for, writing in the same year, he refers to him as 'one of the hypocrites and old wolves of this State' like Raja Man Singh.[34] But the Khan Azam's own splendid military talents led the emperor, in 1610, to place him in charge of operations in the Deccan where the crooked policy of the Khan Khana, the fierce jealousies of the higher officers, and the supineness of lower captains had conspired with the genius of Malik Ambar to bring defeat and disgrace on Imperial arms. [35] He was appointed to the Government of Malwa and the command of the force which was to co-operate from that quarter in the grand offensive against Ahmednagar in 1611. Abdullah Khan's rashness and selfish thirst for glory

Released.

Appointed to the Deccan front.

33 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 79—81. Iqbalnama, 20-1.
K. K., I. 256-7.
M. U. (Beveridge), I. 328-9.

34 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 81, 138, 153.
M. U. (Beveridge), I. 329.

35 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 183.
M. U. Beveridge, I. 329.

wrecked the plan. Disgusted with the Deccan situation, Aziz requested and obtained the command of the Mewar front. A short experience led him to press on the emperor the desirability of fixing his headquarters nearer the scene of affairs.[36]

Applies for and obtains the Mewar command.

Jahangir accepted the advice, left Agra in the autumn of 1613, and established his camp and court at Ajmere.[37] In order to ensure perfect obedience to commands, the Khan Azam requested the appointment of Prince Khurram to the expedition. Jahangir complied again, but made the grave mistake of leaving undefined the jurisdiction of the old splenetic partisan of Khusrau and the young aspiring member of the Nur Jahan junta.

Jahangir establishes his court at Ajmere, 1613.

Prince Khurram appointed to Mewar.

Early in 1614 the prince left the court at the head of a reinforcement of 12,000 cavalry with the gallant Fidai Khan as paymaster.[38] It did not take him long to fall out with the Khan Azam, who probably regarded himself as his guardian and as the real commander. The prince complained to the emperor, who, influenced doubtless by the dominant junta, severely reprimanded the Nestor of the Imperial service. He was reminded that he had at his own persistent entreaty been deputed on the Mewar expedition, that he (the emperor) himself had moved from Agra and pitched his camp at Ajmere at his own suggestion, that Prince Khurram had been despatched at his own

Complain against Aziz, who is reprimanded.

[36] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 258.
M. U. Beveridge, I. 329.

[37] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 253, 257.
Maasir-i-Jahangiri (Khuda Bakhsh MS.), 89 (*a*).
Iqbalnama 72.
Gladwin, 28.

[38] 'I presented him,' says Jahangir, 'with a qaba (outer coat) of gold brocade with jewelled flowers and pearls round the flowers, a brocaded turban with strings of pearls, a gold-woven sash with chains of pearls, one of my private elephants called Fath Gaj, with trappings, a special horse, a jewelled sword and a jewelled Khapwa with a phul katara.' (R. and B.), I. 256.
Maasir-i-Jahangiri (Khuda Bakhsh MS.), 88 (*a*).
Iqbalnama, 72, K. K., I. 277.

request; that, in short, everything had been arranged according to his own counsel. He should refrain from quarrels and disagreements with the prince and show him 'loyalty and approved good will' and 'never be neglectful of his duty day and night' to him. Otherwise, he must know 'that there would be mischief.'[39]

We are not told what reply the old man made to this rebuke and threat, but it stands on record that his disputes with the prince did not cease till the latter took the bold and insolent step of placing him in confinement. He explained to his father that the Khan Azam had been 'spoiling matters simply on account of the connection he had with Khusrau' and that his presence there was 'in no way fitting.'

Confined.

Jahangir believed or professed to believe this specious explanation, despatched Mahabat Khan to fetch the Khan Azam from Udaipur, and commanded Muhammad Taqi to bring his children and dependents from Mandesur to Ajmere.

Called to court.

On April 5, 1614, the Khan Azam was presented at court and on the 9th was ordered into comfortable confinement in the fortress of Gwalior in the charge of one of his arch-enemies, Itiqad Khan, now styled Asaf Khan.[40]

Presented at court 15 Farwardin, April 5, 1614.

His disgrace was only one move in the game for unquestioned supremacy which the Nur Jahan junta was now playing with heart and soul. It was about this time that Khusrau,

39 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 257-8.
Iqbalnama, 73.

40 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 258, 260, 261.
Iqbalnama, 74.

The M. U. (Beveridge, I. p. 330) preserves a curious story, no doubt an effort of the imagination but illustrative of the ideas of the time. While the Khan Azam, who had once remarked that he had never exercised his power of incantations, was in prison, Asaf Khan was led to believe, and to represent to Jahangir, that some one was using incantations to destroy him (Asaf Khan). As solitude, and abstinence from animal food and other pleasure were supposed to be favourable to magical success, the Khan Azam was ordered to be served exquisite dishes of fowl and partridge.

shortly before allowed to pay his respects to the emperor, was banned from the court.[41] It was about this time that Itimad-ud-daulah and his sons rose in rank by leaps and bounds and initiated a number of their followers into the official hierarchy. About this time Prince Khurram himself procured high promotion for his adherents, Saif Khan Barha, Dilawar Khan, Kishan Singh, Sarfaraz Khan and others.[42]

The soul of Akbar came once more to the rescue of his foster-brother. He appeared to his son in a dream and said,

Released.

'Baba, forgive for my sake the fault of Aziz Khan who is the Khan Azam.' Accordingly, the old man was liberated from the State prison of Gwalior on condition that he would not unloosen his uncontrollable tongue in the Imperial presence unless he were asked a question. When he was produced in court, 'I perceived,' says Jahangir, 'more shame in myself than in him. Having pardoned all his offences, I gave him the shawl I had round my waist.'[43]

Meanwhile, Prince Khurram conducted his campaign with consummate ability, ruthless severity, and extraordinary good

Prince Khurram.

fortune. Reinforced by Abdullah Khan and other Deccan officers, he had already detached a body of 5,000 under Muhammad Taqi, later known as Shah Quli Khan, to march in front and ravage the country. Fields and orchards were burnt, villages and towns were plundered, and temples were demolished. The open country, already devastated by Mahabat Khan, Abdullah Khan, Raja Basu and Aziz Koka was now reduced to an utter waste. But the distinctive feature of Khurram's campaign was his plan to starve out the Rajputs in their mountain retreats.

41 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 261.
Iqbalnama, 74.
42 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 260.
43 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 269, 287.
M. U. (Beveridge, I. 330), Neither Jahangir nor Motamad Khan mentions this stipulation of silence but from what we know of Aziz's reckless freedom of speech, it may be considered true. The M. U. also says that one night the emperor asked the Khan Azam's eldest son, Jahangir Quli Khan, if he would become a security for his father. 'I am his surety for everything of him,' he replied, 'but I cannot be surety for his tongue.'

Establishes numerous military stations.

Military stations were established all over the country, specially about the entrances to passes, defiles, and valleys, to cut off all supplies and harass the enemy. The Mughals themselves suffered from the desolation they had wrought. One of the most important of the military posts, Kumbhalmir, had been placed in charge of Nawazish Khan. It was soon a prey to famine and the Mughal soldiers died of starvation in hundreds.[44]

Yet the bitter conflict went on. The fight was hardest over the sacred shrines. The Mughal historians frankly acknowledge the undaunted heroism which Rajput bands of warriors always displayed and which struck terror into the heart of many a Mughal officer. A night attack led by one of the sons of Rana Amar Singh was repelled only with the utmost difficulty by Muhammad Taqi.

Presses the attack.

Yet, in spite of all that the Rajputs did and in spite of the ravages of the climate, and the inclemencies of the weather, the Prince persisted in the operations, regardless of the burning heats and torrential rains, wild forests and pestilential swamps. Early in 1614 he captured a number of Amar Singh's elephants, including Alam Guman, the best and most beloved of all, and sent them to his father together with an assurance that the Rana himself would soon be taken.[45]

Amar Singh reduced to a sad plight.

Amar Singh had been reduced to the sorry plight that confronted Rana Pratap in 1579-80. The open country was in the hands of the enemy; supplies were cut off; the constant skirmishes were thinning the Rajput ranks. The blockade brought about a famine, and a terrible pestilence in its train. The vast resources of the Mughal empire and the extraordinary daring and

[44] M. U. Beveridge, I. 400.
The following were the important military stations established by Prince Khurram:—Kumbhalmir, Jhadal, Gogunda, Anjano, Angane, Chavand, Bijapur, Javar, Madavi, Pavadada, Kevade, Sadadi.

[45] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 259, 273. Iqbalnama, 734. K. K., I. 278—80. Gladwin, 30.

perseverance of Prince Khurram forbade any hope of an early termination of the distress. Even under these gloomy circumstances Rana Pratap might have held out and preferred annihilation to submission; but the relentless pressure broke Amar Singh's spirits; his followers began to desert him; a handful of men were all that would now muster to serve under the crimson banner. The war-wearied nobles earnestly counselled peace,

Counselled to make peace.

particularly as it could be purchased by a nominal recognition of Mughal suzerainty. Prince Karan added the weight of his influence on the same side.[46] The material interests of the people pointed in the same direction. Peace was the condition precedent to the reconstruction of civilization which had been nearly submerged in the horrors of more than half a century of warfare.

Amar Singh accordingly opened negotiations with Prince Khurram through his uncle, Shubh Karan, and his confidential

Opens negotiations with Khurram.

officer, Hari Das Jala. He offered to recognize Mughal supremacy, to wait on the Prince, and to send his son to the imperial court, while he proposed that he himself should be exempted from personal attendance at court and that no territorial compensation or indemnity should be exacted from him.

Prince Khurram sent on the Rajput messengers, in company with his own secretary, the learned Mulla Shukrullah

Jahangir accepts the Rana's terms.

Shirazi, and his major-domo Sundar Das, to the emperor at Ajmere and recommended the acceptance of the conditions proposed. Jahangir gladly and unreservedly accepted the terms, issued a farman, impressing it with the mark of his own 'auspicious

Chittor not to be fortified.

palm,' and authorized Khurram to conclude a treaty. Only one irksome condition was imposed. Chittor was to be restored to the Rana, but was never to be fortified or repaired.

46 Bir Vinoda, 264—6, represents Amar as being overborne by Karan and the nobles into making a peace. Rajput tradition has it, wrongly, that Amar Singh exchanged verses on the subject with Abdur Rahim Khan Khana who advised him to hold out.

Like his father, the Prince rose equal to the occasion and treated the fallen foe with all possible courtesy and esteem. He despatched Mulla Shukrullah and Sundar Das to the Rana to deliver the Imperial farman and hold out hopes of Imperial favour. It was arranged that the Rana and his sons should meet the Prince on Sunday, the 26th Bahman.[47]

Amar Singh meets Khurram.

The Rana duly came out, with a number of adherents, and offered homage, presenting a famous large ruby, some decorated articles, seven elephants—all that remained with him—and nine horses. He performed the usual salutations. Prince Khurram embraced him, seated him by his side, and conversed familiarly with him, honouring him and his officers with superb dresses, jewelled swords, horses and elephants.[48] After the Rana had departed, Prince Karan came to pay his respects[49] and was awarded a superb dress of honour, a jewelled sword and dagger, a horse with a gold saddle and a special elephant.

Khurram and Karan meet.

[47] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 273-4.
Iqbalnama, 76-7. Maasir-i-Jahangiri (Khuda Bakhsh MS.), 103 (*a*).
K. K., I. 279.
M. U. (Beveridge), 149. 412.
Gladwin, p. 30. Tod, I. 286—91. Bir Vinoda, 266-7.
For Shukrullah, M. U. (Beveridge), I. 149—53.
Padshanama, II. 339-40.
Inayat Khan's Badshahnama (E. and D.), VII. 103.
The fortification of Chittor after Jahangir's death was the prime cause of the war waged by Shah Jahan against Mewar.
For Chittor immediately after the treay between Amar Singh and Jahangir, see Roe, p. 102.

[48] Jahangir (R. and B., I. 276) says that the Rana clasped Khurram's feet and asked forgiveness for his faults. The statement, besides being in itself extremely unlikely—for clasping the feet was not recognized as a mode of paying respects to kings or prince among the Mughals or Rajputs—is not supported by other authorities.
Iqbalnama, 77.
K. K., I. 279. Gladwin, 30.

[49] It was a Rajput custom that the heir-apparent should not accompany his father to pay his respects to a king or prince. Prince Karan therefore came after his father, but on the same day, because Khurram was to leave for Ajmere the same evening.
Short notices of the Mewar campaign may be read in M. U. (Beveridge), I. pp. 283, 319, 399, 419, 457, 587.

Leave for Ajmere.

The same evening the two princes left for Ajmere.[50]

So ended the Mewar struggle. The Mughal historians went into raptures over the submission of the last of the Rajputs. Jahangir was transported with delight at the accomplishment of a task which had baffled Akbar.

Reflections.

Amar Singh has often been condemned for tameness and cowardice. It may be admitted at once that he was not made of the same mettle as Rana Pratap, but even the latter could have done nothing more than hold out a few years longer. The interest of the people of Mewar demanded peace at the sacrifice of independence as that sacrifice meant nothing more than the bare recognition of Imperial suzerainty. The Emperor Jahangir, to his infinite credit, adopted a most conciliatory policy towards the vanquished foe, abstaining from all interference in the internal politics of Mewar, fully respecting the Rana's sense of honour and his scruples about attendance at the Mughal court, making no demands of matrimonial alliances. Yet the Rana regarded his dignity so deeply wounded that some time after he abdicated the throne in favour of his eldest son, Karan.[51] Henceforward, the Ranas of Mewar maintained an attitude of loyalty to the Mughal crown till Aurangzeb's policy drove Rana Raj Singh into open rebellion.

Ajmere.

Princes Khurram and Karan soon arrived at Ajmere. This *point d'appui* of Rajputana had been annexed to the Mughal Empire in 1561. Akbar enlarged and repaired the old fort, enclosed the city with a strong rampart and a deep moat, erected a magnificent palace, and commanded his nobles to build mansions and lay out gardens for themselves. By 1574 the aspect of the town was transformed.[52] It formed the

50 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 176.
Iqbalnama, 77.
K. K., I. 279.
Gladmin, 31.

51 Tod, I. 291-2.

capital of a province of the same name and served as a watch-tower over the surrounding feudatory States. It lay along one of the high-ways of commerce between Western India and the Gangetic plains and had long been a centre of trade. The East India Company established one of their earliest factories here.

Its religious sanctity.

The shrine of Muinuddin Chishti.

To the people at large, however, its chief importance lay neither in its strategic position nor in its commercial activity but in its mausoleum of the great saint Muin-uddin Chishti. Hither, after the birth of Prince Salim, the Emperor Akbar made his famous pilgrimage on foot which made a deep impression on the minds of the people and which is referred to by all contemporary historians and many European travellers. A vivid picture of the shrine, as it appeared at the time of which we are speaking, is painted by William Finch. 'Before you come to this tomb,'

Described by Finch.

he writes, 'you pass three fair courts, of which the first contains nearly an acre of ground, paved all with black and white marble, wherein are interred many of Mahomet's cursed kindred; on the left is a fair tank, enclosed with stone. The second court is paved like the former, but richer, twice as big as the Exchange in London; in the midst whereof hangs a curious candle-stick with many lights. Into the third you pass by a broken gate curiously wrought; it is the fairest of the three, specially, near the door of the sepulchre, where the pavement is curiously interlayed; the door is large and inlaid with mother-of-pearl, and the pavement about the tomb of interlaid marble; the

52 A. N. (Beveridge), II. 516.
Nizamuddin (E. and D.), V. 335.
Firishta (Briggs), II. 234. Badauni (Lowe), II. 234.
The modern province of Ajmere-Marwara lies between 25° 24′ and 26° 42′ North Latitude and 73° 45′ and 75° 24′ East Longitude. For physical aspects see Ajmere-Marwara Gazetter, pp, 1—9. The city of Ajmere is 227 miles distant from Agra, 230 miles from Delhi, forty-eight miles from Jaipur and 440 miles from Burhanpur.

sepulchre very curiously wrought in work of mother-of-pearl and gold with an epitaph in the Persian tongue. A little distant stands his seat in a dark obscure place, where he sat to foretell of matters, and is much reverenced. On the east side stand three other courts, in each a fair tank; on the north and west side stand divers fair houses, wherein keep their *sides* or churchmen. Note, that you may not enter any of these places but barefoot.'[53]

The annual fair.

The annual fair at the shrine attracted, then as now, vast masses of pilgrims, both Hindu and Muslim.

Ajmere in the time of Jahangir.

In the time of Jahangir, however, the city, though by no means a mere 'base old city,' as Sir T. Roe calls it,[54] was hardly fitted like Agra, Lahore, or Delhi, to form the metropolis of the Mughal empire. A few splendid mansions had just been erected in anticipation of the Emperor's arrival, and several others were shortly to raise their lofty heads. The court and the army for the most part took up their quarters in camps which formed a regular city by themselves.

The Imperial camp.

'The Imperial camp,' writes Terry, the Chaplain to Sir T. Roe, 'is very glorious, as all must confess who have seen the infinite number of tents or pavilions, there pitched together, which in a plain make a show equal to a most spacious and glorious city. These tents, I say, when they are all together cover such a great quantity of ground that I believe it is five English miles at the least, from one side of them to the other, very beautiful to behold from some hill, where they may be all seen at once......

'The tents pitched in that lashkar....are for the most part white, like the clothing of those which own them. But the

[53] Purchas, IV. 61.
See also Peter Mundy, p. 244. Gladwin, p. 36.
For its detailed description as it is at present, see Archælogical Survey, XXIII. 35--39.
Har Bilas Sarda's Ajmere, Historical and Descriptive (Ajmere, 1911).
[54] Roe, I. 113.

Mughal's tents are red, reared up upon poles, higher by much than the other. They are placed in the midst of the camp, where they take up a very large compass of ground, and may be seen every way....

'In the forefront or outward part or court within his tent there is a very large room for access to him, betwixt seven and nine of the clock at night, which....is called his Ghusal Khana.

'His tents are encompassed round with Qanats which are like our screens, to hold up together; those qanats are about ten feet high, made of narrow strong calico, and lined with the same, stiffened at every breadth with a cane; but they are strongest lined on their outside by a very great company of armed soldiers, that keep close about them night and day. The tents of his great men are likewise large, placed round about his. All of them, throughout the whole lashkar, reared up in such a due and constant order, that when we remove from place to place, we can go as directly to those moveable buildings, as if we continued still in fixed and standing habitations; taking our direction from several streets and bazaars or market places, every one pitched upon every remove alike, upon such or such a side of the king's tents, as if they had not been at all removed.'[55]

Many of the great nobles soon after their arrival constructed temporary edifices which fell to ruins a few years later.[56]

During his three years' residence at Ajmere, Jahangir held, with his usual regularity, the jharokha, the darbar, and the

[55] Terry, pp. 398, 400, 401.
For a far more detailed and brilliant description, see Bernier, 359—70.
The Ain, I. 45—8. Notice the illustrations at the close of Blochmann's volume. For a brief description see Monsterrate (Hoyland and Bannerjee), pp. 75—77.

[56] Peter Mundy, p. 242.
See also Roe, 105, 113. Purchas, IV. 440, 60-61. Peter Mundy, II. 243-4.
Thevenot, III. 48. Tieffenthaler, I. 310. Heber, II. 31.
Tod, I. 606—13. Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh tr. in Sarkar, India of Aurangzeb, 57-8. Archæological Survey, XXIII. pp. 39—46.

council.[57] Here Prince Khurram received a magnificent triumph. As he prostrated himself, the emperor called him near, embraced and kissed him, and showered presents on him.[58] Prince Karan was placed 'in front of the right hand of the circle' in the darbar and presented with a superb dress of honour and jewelled sword. Later, he received all sorts of presents. On the next Nauroz, in March 1615, he received the rank of 5,000 zat and suwar, though nothing could make him feel at home in his new surroundings.[59]

57 He arrived at Ajmere on November 18, 1613, and left it on November 10, 1616.

Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 340.

For the court, Sir T. Roe, Embassy, 106—8, 110, 112.

Terry, 389. Coryat, Crudities Unpaged, Purchas, IV. 475.

58 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 277.

59 Prince Karan felt rather shy and discomfited, oppressed probably, as Tod thinks (I. 291), by the sense of dependence and degradation which nothing could compensate. Jahangir chose to ascribe it to his wild nature and unfamiliarity with assemblies and strove to remove it. Thus he writes with naive simplicity:—

'As it was necessary to win the heart of Karan who was of a wild nature and had never seen assemblies and lived among the hills, I every day showed him some fresh favour, so that on the second day of his attendence a jewelled dagger, and on the next day a special Iraqi horse with jewelled saddle, were given to him. On the day when he went to the darbar in the female apartments, there were given to him on the part of Nur Jahan Begam a rich dress of honour, a jewelled sword, a horse and saddle and an elephant. After this I presented him with a rosary of pearls of great value. On the next day a special elephant with trappings were given. As it was in my mind to give him something of every kind, I presented him with three hawks and three falcons, a special sword, a coat-of-mail, a special aurass, and two rings, one with a ruby and one with an emerald. At the end of the mouth I ordered that all sorts of cloth stuffs, with carpets and cushions (named Fakiya) and all kinds of perfumes with vessels of gold, two Gujerati carts, and clothes, should be placed in a hundred trays. The Ahadis carried them in their arms and on their shoulders to the public audience hall, where they were bestowed on him.

Sir T. Roe saw Prince Karan at court. *Vide* Embassy (ed. Foster), pp. 145, 149, 150.

The grants to the prince led the ambassador to write that the Rana of Mewar (whom, by the way, he reckons a 'true descendant' of Porus, the antagonist of Alexander the Great) was conquered 'more by composition than force; the king having rather brought him than own him, and hereby no way augmented his revenue, but given a great pension to him.' (Roe. Letter to Lord Carew, Embassy, p. 111.) The farmans and the grants issued to Karan and other Rajputs are still preserved at Udaipur. They may be read in Hindi translation in Bir Vinoda, pp. 269—79, 285—95.

The most pleasing circumstance in the whole affair is the way in which Jahangir displayed his sincere admiration of the courage and valour of the fallen foe. He had two life-size statues of Rana Amar and Kunwar Karan on horseback made and placed in the garden below the jharokha at Agra.[60]

It was at Ajmere that Jahangir received the celebrated English ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe, who strove to conclude a commercial treaty between the Mughal Empire and England. He failed in his mission, but he left a journal which ranks among the principal sources of the history of Jahangir's reign.

Sir Thomas Roe.

Towards the close of 1616, the emperor and Prince Khurram moved towards the south to grapple with the ever-difficult Deccan problem.

Jahangir showered favours on Prince Karan even after the month of Bahman and the festival Nauroz. He would sometimes take him on hunting expeditions and display his feats of markmanship (I. pp. 286-7).

On the 9th Urdibihisht, he gave Karan 1,00,000 darrab (p. 287), on the 20th, twenty horses, a qaba (parm narm) of Kashmir cloth, twelve deer, and ten Arabian dogs and on the next day, Khurdad 1, forty horses: on the 2nd, 41 and on the 3rd twenty horses (p. 289).

In short, the amiable and politic emperor did all he could to attach the future occupant of the throne of Mewar firmly to himself.

On the 25th, Karan left for his home, and received, by way of farewell present, a horse, a special elephant, a dress of honour, a string of pearls of the value of Rs. 50,000 and a jewelled dagger worth Rs. 2,000. Jahangir calculates that 'from the time of his waiting on me till he obtained leave, what he had had in the shape of cash, jewellery, jewels and jewelled things was of the value of Rs. 2,00,000, with 110 horses, five elephants, in addition to what my son Khurram bestowed on him at various times' (pp. 293-4).

The prince returned to the Imperial court on the 5th Farwardin (March 24, 1616) on the occasion of the next Nauroz making, in his turn, an offering of 100 muhrs, 1,000 rupees, an elephant with fittings and four horses (p. 317).

60 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 332. The statues were finished on the 8th Shahriwar.

For a discussion of the question of the statues, see Campbell, J.A. S.B., 1864, pp. 159—61. Col. J. Abbott, J.A.S.B., 1864, pp. 375—7, Cunningham, J.A.S.B., Supplementary No., Pt. I. lxxvii—lxxxi, Beveridge, J.R.A.S., July, 1909, pp. 743—6, and R. Froude Tucker, J.R.A.S., April, 1910. pp. 490—4.

Two stone-elephants were removed by Aurangzeb from Agra in 1668 (Sarkār, III. 97).

The upshot of the whole matter is that nothing definite has yet been ascertained about the existence of the statues at present.

A NOTE ON SIR THOMAS ROE'S MISSION

Born at Leyton in 1580 or 1581, Roe entered Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1593 and the Middle Temple in 1597. Some time later, he became an Esquire of the Body to Queen Elizabeth and was knighted by James I in 1605. He won the close friendship of Prince Henry and his sister Elizabeth. In 1610 he laid a voyage of discovery to Guiana, 'in the course of which he is said to have penetrated three hundred miles up the little-known river of the Amazons, and to have examined the coast from the mouth of the river to the Orinoco, reaching England again in July, 1611.' Three years later he entered the Addled Parliament as a member for Tamworth in 1614, but found his political views very different from those of James I.

He readily accepted the East India Company's offer to go as an ambassador of St. James' to the Great Mughal in 1614. 'A happier choice could not have been made,' remarks the learned Editor of his Journal: 'Roe was in the prime of life, of a pregnant understanding, well-spoken, learned, industrious, of a comely personage.' (Court Minutes, September 7, 1614); his commanding presence and dignified bearing were useful qualifications for a mission to an Eastern court; while in the still more important matters of judgment and tact he was equally well-equipped. Sprung from a noted city family, he combined the shrewdness, readiness of resource, and business ability which had raised his ancestor to fortune, with the culture and experience obtained by a varied training in most favourable circumstances.

On Fedruary 2, 1615, Roe set sail with fifteen followers, on board the *Lion* at Tilbury Hope, and arrived at Swally Road near Surat on September 18, 1615. On October 29 he left for Ajmere, visiting Burhanpur, the headquarters of Prince Parvez, the nominal commander of the Deccan forces, and arrived at his destination on December 23. On the way, however, he contracted a serious illness which incapacitated him from presenting himself to the Mughal court till January 10, 1616.

He was received with great favour and courtesy by the Emperor who often talked to him about things European. He forthwith addressed himself to the real object of his mission—the negotiation of a commercial treaty between England and Hindostan. He refused to be satisfied with farmans or royal edicts of the usual type, but, as Foster points out, wanted something like the Capitualations obtained by the European nations in Turkey. His own draft treaty 'provided for the free access of the English to all parts belonging to the Great Mughal, including those of Bengal and Sind, and the free passage of their goods without payment of any duty beyond the usual customs; they were to be allowed to buy and sell freely, to rent factories, to hire boats and carts, and to buy provisions at the usual rates; while other articles directed against the confiscation of the effects of deceased factors, the obnoxious claims to search the persons of the merchants on going ashore, the opening of presents intended for the king, delays in the custom house and other similar abuses. On the part of the English, Roe was willing to engage that they should not molest the ships of other nations, "except the enemies of the said English, or any other that shall seek to injure them," and that their factors, while residing ashore, should "behave themselves peaceably and civilly," that they should do their best to procure rarities for the Great Mughal, and should furnish him (upon payment) with any goods or furniture of war that he could reasonably desire, and that they should assist him against "any enemy to the common peace." The Portuguese were to be admitted to "enter into the said peace and league," should they be willing; but if they did not do so within six months, the English were to be permitted to treat them as enemies and make war upon them at sea, "without any offence to the said Great King of India."
(Foster, Introduction, xx-xxi)

Such a treaty the Emperor and his ministers regarded as inconsistent with the Imperial dignity. All the charm and urbanity, tact and diplomacy, entreaties and threats of Sir T. Roe failed to persuade them to accede to it. The efforts of the ambassador detained him for a long time at court, brought

him into close contact with many high personages, and gave him, in spite of his ignorance of Persian, some knowledge of the currents and characters of court politics. His failure certainly prejudiced him against some of the prominent figures on the stage—such as Prince Khurram and the minister Asaf Khan. His picture of the court has been highly overpraised, though it is not without many points of interest and some new information.

In November, 1616, Roe accompanied the Emperor to Mandu, the capital of Malwa, whence the Emperor was to countenance and support the operations of Prince Khurram against the Deccan. In October, 1617, Jahangir left Mandu for Ahmedabad where Roe, who had posted on in advance, arrived on December 15. Early in 1618 the ambassador paid a visit to Burhanpur, returning to Ahmedabad in the beginning of May. In September, 1618, he left the court for Surat *en route* for England. On February 17, 1619, he embarked on board the *Anne*, reaching Plymouth in August next.

For Roe, see Foster's Introduction to the Embassy.

Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. XLIX, pp. 89, 93, by Stanley Lane-Poole.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER X

Jahangir's March from Agra to Ajmere

Eight Regnal year, Persian months	Stage
Shahriyur 24	Leaves Agra.
25	Alights at the Dalnab garden.
Mihr 1	Leaves the garden.
10	Halts at Rup Bas, now named Amanabad.
10-21	Halts at Rup Bas. Hunts.
25	Marches from Amanabad.
Aban 26	Enters Ajmere.

CHAPTER XI

THE DECCAN

Historical relations between Northern India and the Deccan.

THE Deccan policy of the Mughals was a legacy of two thousand years of Indian history, the direct outcome of geographical facts. The Deccan tableland is clearly separated, but not completely shut off, from the Indo-Gangetic plains by the Vindhya and Satpura ranges of hills. The blood, the language, the manners of the intermediate plateau represent a blend of the northern Aryan and the southern Dravidian types. The differences of situation are considerable but they do not mar the fundamental geographical unity of the whole country from the Himalayas to the seas. Nor have they prevented the evolution of a religion, culture and outlook, common to the whole land. The elements of homogeneity have always prompted, and the elements of heterogeneity have always resisted, the attempts of the north and the south to dominate each other. The process seemed so natural that Hindu political thinkers placed the ideal of universal monarchy, that is, all-India sovereignty, before every ruler. Yet political assimilation was so difficult that the most ambitious rulers had to be content with a bare recognition of suzerainty in the distant regions. The Mauryan emperors of the fourth and third centuries B.C., who anticipated the Mughals in so many respects, exacted homage from the southern princes. The Andhras retaliated by imposing their sway on the north. The Gupta emperors of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. won the overlordship of the peninsula, but only for a time. The seventh century saw the mighty Harshavardhan of the north and Pulkesin of the south arrayed for fight, but consenting at last to a practical partition of the country between them. More than once the conflict has been waged on equal terms, but the superiority of the north in wealth and population has often given it an advantage. No sooner was Muslim rule consolidated over

North India than Alauddin Khilji resumed the traditional policy of his Hindu predecessors. The campaigns led by himself and his lieutenant Kafur at the dawn of the fourteenth century broke the independence of many Hindu kingdoms. Within half a century, however, the ever-present centrifugal forces re-asserted themselves. The Muslim principalities in the Deccan exerted themselves to throw off the yoke of Delhi. The ferocious policy of Mohammad Tughlak (1325–1351) accelerated the process. As the pressure from the north and the south inculcated the necessity of union, the Deccan officers elected Hassan Gangu Bahmani to be king in 1347.

The Bahmani Kingdom, 1347-1498.

So arose the Bahmani kingdom, one of the central factors in Indian history for a century and a half. Under its auspices the Hindus and Muslims of the Deccan learnt to live amicably together; a new era opened in the history of vernacular literatures; Persian literature was enriched with precious gems; the fine arts progressed by strides. There was also a dark side to it—faction, intrigue, civil war, extravagance, and immorality at court. For reasons more or less similar to those responsible for the break-up of other empires, the Bahmani kingdom dissolved into five independent States—practically at the end of the fifteenth century —Berar under the Imad Shahs (1484-1572); Bidar under the Barid Shahs (1492-1609); Ahmednagar under the Nizam Shahs (1490-1637); Bijapur under the Adil Shahs (1489-1686); and Golconda under the Qutb Shahs (1489-1686). The history of their culture yields to none in interest or instruction, but their political annals are, for the most part, one long record of internal dissension and external aggression. The presence of the mighty Hindu empire of Vijayanagar in the south added another element of complication. At one time, indeed, it did not seem unlikely that the politics of Bijapur and Golconda would fall under southern influence, but the ambition of Ram Ray threw Bijapur, Golconda, and Ahmednagar into a close alliance which shattered the southern empire for ever. The battle of Talikot, which sealed its doom in 1569, ranks among

Breaks up into five independent States.

the decisive events in Indian history. The absence of a strong power in north India had given the Deccan a splendid opportunity of political development. With the consolidation of Akbar's empire, the age-long conflict between the north and the south was resumed. Berar had already been swallowed up by Ahmednagar; and Bidar had sunk into insignificance, but the small principality of Khandesh, founded as early as 1388, had acquired strength, wealth, and fame. When Akbar turned his eyes to the south, he saw that he had to deal with four independent Powers—Khandesh, Ahmednagar, Bijapur, and Golconda. In August, 1591, he called upon them to acknowledge his suzerainty. Khandesh, too small and too close to the border, complied with the demand, but the others returned evasive answer.[1] Ahmednagar, which adjoined Mughal territory, was the first to feel the weight of the emperor's heavy hand. In October, 1593, seventy thousand cavalry and large number of infantry, nominally commanded by Prince Daniyal, but really by Abdur Rahim Khan Khana, Rai Singh, Rai Bil, Hakim Ain-ul-mulk, and others, started on an invasion of Ahmednagar. Prince Daniyal, however, was soon recalled. In June, 1595, Prince Murad was appointed to the chief command. But neither of the dissolute princes did anything else than hamper the operations. The commanders were a prey to fierce mutual jealousies,[2] and to the Deccan gold. Ahmednagar was able to wage a conflict which cost her dear, but which did not exhaust her. On April 4, 1595, died

Their relations with the Mughals.

Khandesh acknowledges Mughal suzerainty.

The Mughals invade Ahmednagar.

Under Prince Daniyal, 1593.

Under Prince Murad, 1595.

Mughal dissensions.

[1] Abul Faizi was sent to Raja Ali Khan of Khandesh; Khwaja Amnuddin to Burhan-ul-mulk of Ahmednagar; Mir Muhammad Amin to Bijapur; and Mir Mirza to Golconda.
Nizamuddin (E. and D.), V. 460. For Faizi's very interesting report of his mission, E. and D., VI. 147—49.

[2] Nizamuddin (E. and D.), V. 467.
A. N., III. 741. E. and D., VI. 92-93.

Burhan-ul-mulk, to be succeeded in real power, though not on the throne, by his sister Chand Sultana, widow of the late king of Bijapur. To a calm indomitable courage, heroic valour, and marvellous resource she added the highest of all diplomatic talents—that of conciliating internal factions. Her magnetic personality roused the enthusiasm of her followers. When the Mughals invested Ahmednagar, she organized a resistance which has immortalized her name. Gallant sorties were sent out. Mines were counter-mined. Breaches were promptly repaired.

Chand Sultana.

Defends Ahmednagar.

But it was plain even to Chand that the resources of Ahmednagar would soon fail her. Both sides were glad to come to terms; Ahmednagar ceded Berar and acknowledged Mughal suzerainty.[3] The terms were regarded as lenient, but they were severe enough to warm the Deccan States of the serious danger that threatened them all. Chand Sultana seized the opportunity to organize a confederacy of Ahmadnager, Bijapur, and Golconda. That was her last achievement, for soon after she fell in a faction fight. When war broke out again, the Mughals suffered from the usual unpatriotic jealousies. The incapable Sultan Murad had to be superseded. The Imperialists came out victorious, though with heavy loss, in a battle at Supa near Ashti on the Godavari in February, 1597 but they failed to profit by it.[4] The war lingered on without any decisive results. Ahmednagar had fallen, but the kingdom could not be annexed.

Concludes peace.

Organizes a confederacy.

Is killed.

An imperialist victory, February, 1597.

Such was the situation when Akbar, freed at last from the longstanding Uzbeg menace in the north by the death of

3 A. N., III. 742-3. (E. and D.), VI. 94.
4 A. N., III. 719, 744. (E. and D.), VI. 95.
M. U. (Beveridge), I. 54-5.
For Murad's character, Badauni (Lowe), II. 391-2.
Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 34.

Akbar to the fore.

Abdullah Khan, marched from the Punjab.[5] Before he reached the Deccan, he had the mortification to learn that Khandesh had gone over to the common cause.

Captures Asirgarh.

He was engaged in the siege of its well-nigh impregnable fortress, Asirgarh, when he was shocked by the news of Prince Salim's revolt. Soon after the fall of the stronghold, he hurried to the north. The restraint which his presence exercised on the dissensions of his lieutenants and the vigour which his genius infused into the operations were gone. The war languished with various fortune on either side.

Called to the north.

Jahangir adopts Akbar's policy.

On his accession to the throne, Jahangir adopted his father's policy in all directions, but the revolt of Khusrau and the siege of Qandahar prevented him from resuming a vigorous offensive in the Deccan for a while. When at last he turned his attention thither, he failed to make much headway. All through his reign he had to reckon with one of the ablest commanders and wisest statesmen that the Deccan has ever seen.

Malik Ambar.

Malik Ambar, an Abyssinian by birth but a true Deccani by adoption, had begun political life as a follower of Changiz Khan, one of the greatest of Ahmednagar nobles and the conqueror of Berar. He served his master with exemplary devotion, profited by his opportunities and made a mark for himself. His talents and force of character gradually raised him to the first place in the counsels of the Nizamshahi kings. Even the Mughal court chroniclers who are never tired of abusing him were forced to admit that in judgment and administrative capacity he stood unrivalled and unequalled. On the fall of Ahmednagar, he transferred the capital to Khadki or the rocky town, and raised to the throne a scion of the reigning family under the title of

[5] It was about this time that Murad died of alcohol. A. N., III. 802, 806. (E. and D.), VI. 96, 97.
Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 34.

Murtaza Nizam Shah. He introduced a new revenue system modelled on the celebrated principles of Raja Todar Mal and carried out other administrative reforms.

But his energies were chiefly occupied in husbanding the military resources of his State and confronting the Mughals.[6]

Organizes guerilla Maratha horse.

To their traditional mode of warfare, he opposed a new system of tactics which was remarkably successful during his life-time and which destroyed the Mughal empire within a century after his death. He was the first great man to perceive the value of light Maratha horse, to organize them and set them against the Mughals.

The Marathas inhabit the broad belt of territory between the Satpuras and a line from Goa to Chanda on the Warda,

The Maratha country.

but in the seventeenth century their strength lay principally in the narrow strip between the Western Ghats and the sea. The predominant fact about the rugged Konkan, as it is called, is its physical configuration.

'Towards the coast are small rich plains, producing rice; the rest is almost impervious from rocks and forests, cut by

Described by Elphinstone.

numerous torrents which change, when near the sea, into muddy creeks, among thickets of mangrove. The summits of the range itself are bare rocks; its sides are thickly covered with tall trees mixed with underwood. The forest spreads over the contiguous parts of the tableland to the east, a tract broken by deep winding valleys and ravines, forming fit haunts for the wild beasts with which the range is peopled. Fifteen or twenty miles from the ridge the valleys become wild and fertile, and by degrees are lost in open plains, which stretch away to the eastward, covered with cultivation but bare of trees, and rarely crossed by ranges of moderate hills..... For several months, the high points are wrapped in clouds and beaten by rains and tempests. The

[6] Iqbalnama, 271-2. (E. and D.), VI. 428-9.
Grant Duff, History of the Marathas, I. 73-4.
Gladwin, 85.

moisture soon runs off from the upper tracts, but renders the Konkan damp and insalubrious through out the year......

'....The whole of the Ghats and neighbouring mountains often terminate towards the top in a wall of smooth rock, the highest points of which, as well as detached portions on insulated hills, form natural fortresses, where the only labour required is to get access to the level space, which generally lies on the summit. Various princes, at different times, have profited by these positions. They have cut flights of steps or winding roads up the rocks, fortified the entrance with a succession of gateways, and erected towers to command the approaches; and thus studded the whole of the region about the Ghats and their branches with forts, which but for frequent experience, would be deemed impregnable.'[7]

The Maratha awakening.

Here the Marathas lived, affected indeed, by the currents of political and intellectual life which surged over the country but left until the sixteenth century very much to themselves. Here they laid the foundations of that noble literature which is still a source of inspiration to the people. Here they began the movement of religious reform which bears a marked resemblance to its northern counterpart and which forms the central feature in their history. Here intellectual enlightenment and religious liberalism first relaxed the bonds of caste and Brahmanical ascendancy. The movement spread over the whole Maratha country. The new life affected Deccan politics. The Marathas entered the service and the courts of the Deccan monarchs. In the beginning of the seventeenth century they constituted a powerful factor at the Nizamshahi court of Ahmednagar. The light Maratha horse formed valuable auxiliaries to the Deccan forces. Malik Ambar fully realized their value, enrolled and organized them in large numbers, and pitted them against the Mughals.[8]

[7] Elphinstone, History of India, ed. Cowell, pp. 600-1.
The Bombay Gazetteer, Pt. I. pp. 2, 13.
Ranade, Rise of the Maratha Power, Ch. I.
Grant Duff, History of the Marathas, Ch. I.
[8] Ranade, Rise of the Maratha Power, Ch. IX.

Their mode of warfare was the same as highlanders have always practised against powerful lowlanders. They avoided pitched battles but always hung on the skirts of the enemy, cutting off supplies, wasting the country, robbing and plundering, skirmishing and ambushing. Often they would allure the self-confident foe into difficult hills and vales and reduce him to extremities. The Spaniards wore out the grand army of Napoleon Bonaparte. The Mughals, always deficient in the military art, seldom adapted themselves to the new tactics, and ultimately succumbed to them.

Maratha tactics.

From this point of view, the chief importance of the Deccan campaigns of the Mughals lies in the opportunities of military training and political power which they afforded to the Marathas. Malik Ambar, as great a master of the art of guerilla warfare as Shivaji himself, stands at the head of the builders of the Maratha nationality. His primary object was to serve the interests of his own master, but unconsciously he nourished into strength a power which more than revenged the injuries of the south on the northern empire.

The building of the Maratha nation.

Malik Ambar set himself to recover the territory lost to the Mughals. Thanks to the jealousies and supineness of the Mughal officers, he won success after success and reduced his enemies to a sorry plight.

Malik Ambar recovers the lost territory.

In 1608 Jahangir sent the Khan Khana at his own suggestion with a reinforcement of 12,000, to hold the chief command in the Deccan.[9] But even he found it impossible to control his subordinates. In order to secure some harmony and better obedience to orders, Jahangir despatched the premier noble, Sharif Khan, to the Deccan, and appointed Prince Parvez with Asaf Khan as his guardian to the supreme command and to

The Khan Khana.

Sharif Khan on the scene.

Parvez appointed to the supreme command, 1610.

[9] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 149, 153.
Maasir-i-Jahangiri (Khuda Bakhsh MS.), 60 (a).
Iqbalnama, 34-5. K. K., I. 259.

the governorship of Khandesh and Berar. Early in 1610 the prince reached Burhanpur with a reinforcement of 1,000 Ahadis and more mansabdari soldiers.[10]

His character.

Parvez, now twenty years of age, was full of pride and ambition, but he had already fallen a prey to intemperance and never displayed any military or administrative capacity. During his several year's sojourn in the Deccan, he was a mere figurehead. He maintained at Burhanpur a right royal court which has been graphically described by Sir Thomas Roe, who visited it towards the close of 1615. 'At the outward court were about 100 horsemen armed, being gentlemen that attend the prince's sitting out to salute him, making a lane of each side. In the inward court he sat, high in a gallery that went round, with a canopy over him and a carpet before him, in great but barbarous state. Coming toward him through a lane of people, an officer came and brought me word I must touch the ground with my head, and my hat off. I answered, "I came in honour to see the prince and was free from the custom of servants." So I passed on, till I came to a place railed in, right under him, with an ascent of three steps, where I made him reverence, and he bowed his body; and so went within it where stood round by the side all the great men of the town with their hands before them like slaves (?). The place was covered overhead with a rich canopy, and underneath all carpets. To describe it rightly it was like a great stage and the prince sat there as the mock kings do there. When I was entered I knew not where to be placed, but went right and stood before him, where there is an ascent of three steps, upon which stands his

His court at Burhanpur.

Described by Sir Thomas Roe.

Gladwin, 18.

The Khan Khana stated in writing. 'If I don't complete this service in the course of two years, I shall be guilty (of a fault), on the condition that in addition to the force that had been allotted to that subah 12,000 more horse with Rs. 1,000,000 should be sent with me.'

[10] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 156-7.
Maasir-i-Jahangiri (Khuda Bakhsh MS.), 61 (*b*).
Iqbalnama. 36-7. K. K., I. 260. Gladwin, 19.

secretary to deliver what is said or given.'[11] In spite of this pomp and ceremony, it was clear to all in 1615, and doubtless in 1610, that as Roe puts it, 'the prince hath the name and State, but the Khan (the Khan Khana) governs all.'[12]

The old state of things continued. The Mughal officers indulged in bitter mutual criminations and recriminations. The Deccanis mustered in greater force than ever. Asaf Khan suggested the desirability of the emperor's presence on the scene. Jahangir mediated the proposal but was prevailed upon by his own consciousness of military incapacity and by his sycophant courtiers to content himself with accepting the offer of Khan Jahan Lodi to set the Deccan right.[13]

Jahangir sends Khan Jahan Lodi.

Khan Jahan Lodi or Pir Khan Lodi, as he was originally named, came from the old ruling family of Agra and was the second son of Daulat Khan Lodi, a famous warrior of Akbar's reign. He fell out with his father in early manhood and served successively under Raja Man Singh, Prince Daniyal, and Prince Salim. His martial talents soon established his reputation. In the second year of Jahangir's reign he received the rank of 3,000 zat and 1,500 suwar, the title of Salabat Khan, and the distinction of 'sonship'. In 1608 he was styled Khan Jahan and promoted to 5,000 zat and

His character.

[11] Roe, 91-2. Purchas, IV. 324-5.

Burhanpur was situated in the province of Khandesh (or Dandesh as it was christened by Akbar), on the Tapti, 21° 18′ 35″ N. long. 76° 16′ 26″ E. See Jarrett, II. 223. De Laet tr. Lethbridge, Calcutta Review, LI. 1870, p. 358. William Finch. Purchas, IV. 32. Withington, (Purchas, IV. 173). John Jourdain, p. 146.

Mundy, II. 51. Tavernier, I. 51. I.G. The fortress Lalkila is now much dilapidated.

[12] Roe, 90-91. Foster refers to a letter of Kerridge, from Ahmedabad, 210 Ct., 1615 (British Museum Addl. MS. 9,366, f. 19) warning Roe that he must visit Parvez, 'whose capacity being weak and he given to womanish pleasures, there is no hope either of honour or content from him.... He supplieth the place in name only.... the Khan Khana in matters of consequence there ordereth all, esteemed for nobility, honour and valour to be the chiefest of the land.'

[13] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 161. Iqbalnama, 38-9. Gladwin, 21.

suwar. There were few who stood higher in the royal favour and who wielded greater influence at court.[14]

On his Deccan march in 1610, he was accompanied by Bir Singh Deo, Shajaat Khan, and Raja Bikramajit, who commanded more than 4,000 horse, and by Saif Khan Barha, Haji bi Uzbeg, Salamullah Arab, and others who were in charge of detachments of royal horse numbering about 7,000. Muhammad Beg acted as paymaster and took Rs. 10,00,000 for expenses. Fidai Khan was sent to serve as ambassador to Bijapur.[15]

Mughal reverses.

On their arrival at Burhanpur, they found that the Mughals had just suffered more than one severe reverse. The Khan Khana had planned a surprise attack on the enemy during the rains in 1610, advanced from Burhanpur without sufficient provisions and, overriding the better judgment of his staff, had made a dash into Ahmednagar territory. Malik Ambar was not the man to miss the golden opportunity. He avoided a pitched battle and set his light Maratha horse to harass the foe. They lured the Mughals into rugged hills and difficult passes, and cut off their supplies and stragglers. Famine exacted a heavy toll in men, horses, and cattle. The Mughal officers loudly accused the Khan Khana of incapacity, rashness, and treachery, and thwarted his plans. Reduced to extremities, the Khan Khana signed a disgraceful peace and retreated to Burhanpur.[16]

The retreat involved the loss of Ahmednagar which the Deccanis had besieged for long and which the Mughal commandant, Khwaja Beg Safavi, had hitherto defended heroically, in hopes of relief from the Khan Khana. He was still for holding out, but the intelligence of the reverses in the field depressed the spirits of his garrison. He was constrained to surrender on condition of a safe passage to Burhanpur.[17]

[14] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 87, 89, 128, 139, 161.
Abdul Hamid, I. 272. Blochmann, 502—6.

[15] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 161—3.
Iqbalnama, 38-9. K. K., I. 261-2. Gladwin, 21.

[16] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 179.
Iqbalnama, 38-9.
K. K., I. 261-2.

[17] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 182. Iqbalnama, 38-9. K. K., I. 261-2.

On his arrival, Khan Jahan joined in accusations against the Khan Khana, suggested his recall and his own appointment to the chief command, and promised the conquest of Ahmednagar and Bijapur within two years. Jahangir fell in with his proposals, appointed the Khan Azam to assist him, and sent Mahabat Khan to inquire into the recent disaster and escort the Khan Khana to court. The universal chorus of condemnation had at last poisoned Jahangir's mind against his old guardian. He received the Khan Khana with every mark of coldness.[18]

With reinforcements including 2,000 ahadis, 10,000 troopers, such redoubtable lieutenants as Khan Alam, Faridun Khan Barlas, Yusuf Khan, Ali Khan Niyazi, and Baz Bahadur Qalmaq, and a sum of Rs. 30,00,000 the Khan Azam joined Khan Jahan Lodi.[19] But the old difficulties continued with the same disastrous results. The Mughals failed to adapt themselves to the new system of guerilla warfare. Their officers delighted more in mutual accusations than in comfronting the enemy. The genius of Malik Ambar was more than a match for them. Khan Jahan exerted himself with his usual zeal and ability, but his proud boasts were soon blown away.

The grand plan, 1611.

The Government now planned a grand offensive against Ahmednagar. Abdullah Khan, fresh from the glories of the Mewar campaign, was appointed to the Government of Gujerat to equip an army of 14,000 and march in the direction of Nasik and Trimbak. He was to keep in touch with the armies which were to advance under Khan Jahan Lodi, Man Singh, and the Amir-ul-umara from the sides of Berar and Khandesh. They were to hem in the enemy and destroy him by a concerted attack.[20]

[18] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 178–180.
Gladwin, 22.
[19] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 183-4.
Iqbalnama, 45.
K. K., I. 262.
[20] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 219.

Khan Jahan and Man Singh duly marched out, but Abdullah Khan, puffed with vanity and burning with a selfish passion for glory, omitted, against the better judgment of his own officers, to harmonize his movements with the northern force. Convinced that his own abilities and forces were adequate to the task, he quickly passed the Ghats and entered the hostile territory. Malik Ambar promptly despatched his guerilla bands to entice him into difficult hills, jungles, and passes. When they had proceeded too far, the Mughals found the numbers of the light horse swelling every day. Their supplies were cut off; their baggage was plundered; their camels were captured; they were exposed to rockets and fireworks; many fell into the hands of the enemy who cut off their noses and ears. It was as impossible to bring these Marathas to a pitched battle as to escape them. When Abdullah Khan reached Daulatabad, the rendezvous of the Deccani forces, he found his situation well-nigh hopeless. The results of his folly were now apparent to all. He resolved on retreat. At break of day the Imperialists began their march, but were subjected to terrible molestation. Many a brave officer, like Ali Mardan Khan and Zulfiqar Beg, perished on the way. It was only when they re-crossed the boundary of Ahmednagar and entered the friendly territory of Baglana that the Imperialist remnant heaved a sigh of relief. Thence they retreated to Gujerat.[21]

Foiled on account of Abdullah Khan's rashness.

On the intelligence of these happenings, the Berar army retreated to the camp of Prince Parvez at Adilabad near Burhanpur. Jahangir was indignant at the failure of the grand offensive and severely castigated all the officers, particularly Abdullah Khan. Once more he thought of taking the field in person and once more he gave up the idea.[22] Every one now realized

Jahangir's indignation.

21 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 219–21. Iqbalnama, 65-6. K. K., I. 273-6. Gladwin, 25.
22 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 221.
Iqbalnama, 67.
M. U. (Beveridge), I. 99.

the value of the discredited Khan Khana. At a Council held to consider the situation, Khwaja Abul Hasan argued that no one had a firmer grasp of the Deccan problems and no one was better fitted to solve them than the old officer who had been unjustly accused of treachery. Accordingly, Jahangir once more invested him with the supreme Deccan command; promoted him to the rank of 6,000; presented him with a grand dress of honour, a jewelled dagger, a special elephant, and an Iraqi horse; and raised his sons, Shah Nawaz Khan, Darab Khan, and Rahmandad, to high mansabs. The Khan Khana reappeared in the Deccan in 1612 and soon found the field clear for himself.[23] Asaf Khan Jaffar Beg died of a lingering disease at Burhanpur, while the Amir-ul-umara breathed his last in the paragana of Nihalpur in 1612. Next year the Khan Azam was transferred at his own request to the Mewar front. A year later the great Raja Man Singh departed from the world.[24]

The Khan Khana re-appointed.

Deaths of Asaf Khan and the Amir-ul-umara.

While the Khan Khana was partially freed from internal molestation, his enemies were torn by faction. He himself did all he could to inflame their mutual animosities. As a result, several noted Deccan captains, like Adam Khan, Yaqut Khan, Jado Ray, and Bapu Katiya, deserted to Shah Nawaz Khan who commanded the Mughal camp at Balapur. Malik Ambar had concluded an alliance with Bijapur and Golconda, but the defection greatly weakened him. The Mughals, on the other hand, profited by the late disasters and the deserters. Shah Nawaz Khan marched warily, routed a small Deccan force on the way, and fell on the confederate army. The battle began in the afternoon and was hotly contested for two hours. The Imperial vanguard led by Darab Khan and including such noted

The Khan Khana retrieves the situation.

23 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 221.
Iqbalnama, 67, K.K., I. 276.

24 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 222-3, 231, 234, 266.
Iqbalnama, 67. K. K., I. 276.

captains, as Bir Singh Deo, Ray Chand, Ali Khan Tatar, and Jahangir Quli Beg, greatly distinguished itself. The Deccanis broke at last and scattered in all directions. The Imperialists pursued them a few miles, captured many of their leaders, the whole of their artillery, their elephants and horses, their camels laden with rockets, their weapons and armour, and returned to camp at dark. Next day they marched to Kirki, razed the noble buildings to the ground, and burnt the city to ashes. As the Deccanis seemed likely to rally again, they returned through the Rohankhanda pass to their own camp.[25]

The Khan Khana partially retrieved the prestige of Mughal arms during his second campaign, but he was still thwarted by his officers. He continued in supreme command till 1616 and acquitted himself with credit, but he was still accused of being corrupted by Deccan gold. Prince Khurram was anxious to win the glory of bringing the Deccan war to a triumphant conclusion, specially as Parvez had covered himself with lasting infamy in that quarter. The Nur Jahan junta accordingly arranged that Parvez should be transferred to Allahabad, that the Khan Khana should be recalled, and that Khurram should be placed in charge of the Deccan.[26]

Khurram appointed to the Deccan command.

25 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 311–4 Iqbalnama, 83–7. K. K., I. 282–5. M. U. (Beveridge, I. 57) does scanty justice to the Khan Khana's second campaign.

26 Sir T. Roe, II. 278-9. The English ambassador shared the common belief that the Khan Khana 'doubtless was a practiser with the Deccanis from whom he received pension.' Roe gives a strange stroy concerning the Khan Khana's recall and the Prince's deputation to the Deccan which must have been current at the time but which lacks historical foundation.

The emperor, we are told, was well aware of 'the ambitions and factions' of Khurram, the discontent of his two elder brothers, and the power of the Khan Khana and was therefore 'desirous to accomodate all by accepting a peace and confirming the Khan Khana in the government he held, and closely to that end wrote a letter of favour and proposed to send a vest according to the ceremony of reconciliation to the Khan Khana. But before he despatched it, he acquainted a kinswoman of his living in the seraglio of his purpose. She, whether false to her (?) [wrought by Sultan Khurram] or out of greatness of heart to see the top of her family after so many merits stand on so fickle terms, answered plainly that she did not believe the Khan Khana would wear anything sent from the king, knowing His Majesty hated him had once or twice offered him

It was likewise resolved that Jahangir should move to Mandu in Malwa closer to the scene of warfare. Towards the end of October, 1616, Prince Khurram's camp-equipage left Ajmere for the Deccan. Early in November, he was given the title of Shah or King which no Timurid prince had ever received. Loaded with honours and presents, he left for the Deccan at the head of a splendid train of nobles and troopers. Motamad Khan, the court-chronicler, was appointed paymaster with the rank of 1,000 zat and 250 suwar.[27]

On Tuesday, November 10, 1616, at the precise hour fixed by the court astrologers, the emperor himself prepared to march from the city with all his ladies and his court. Even on that day he sat at the Jharokha as usual, receiving and distributing presents.[28] His subsequent movements are described by Sir T. Roe in an interesting and informing

Jahangir's departure from Ajmere, November 10, 1616, 1st Zilqada, 21st Aban.

poison, which he putting in his bosom instead of his mouth had made trial of: therefore, she was confident he would not wear anything that came from His Majesty. The king offered to wear it himself before her for an hour, and that she should write to testify it. She replied he would trust neither of them both with his life; but if he might live quietly in his command would do His Majesty true service. Whereupon the king altered his purpose and resolved to proceed in the sending Sultan Khurram, to countenance his reception would follow after with another army.'

Roe, II. 279-280.

[27] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 338-9.

Iqbalnama, 90-91.

K. K., I. 288.

Roe (319-320) estimated the value of a sword presented to Khurram at Rs. 1,00,000 and of dagger at Rs. 40,000. He thus describes the prince's departure in a carriage built after the one presented by himself to Jahangir. 'The prince sat down in the middle, the sides open, his chiefest nobles afoot walking by him to his tents about four miles. All the way he threw quarters of rupees, being followed with a multitude of people. He reached his hand to the coachman and put into his hand about Rs. 100.'

[28] Sir Roe who saw him on this occasion found that the presents from the king were let down by a silk string rolled on a turning instrument, while those made to him were pulled up in the same manner by a 'venerable fat deformed old matron.' It was on this occasion that Roe caught his solitary glimpse of the Imperial ladies. 'At one side in a window,' he writes, 'were his two principal wives, whose curiosity made them break little holes in a grate of reed that hung before it to gaze on me. I saw first their fingers, and after laying their faces close now one eye, now another; some time I could discern the full proportion. They were indifferently white, black hair smoothed up; but if had had no other light,

passage. 'Suddenly the king rose,' writes the eyewitness, 'and we retired to the Durbar and sat on the carpets attending his coming out. Not long after he came and sat about half an hour, until his ladies at their doors were (had) ? ascended their elephants, which where about fifty, all most richly furnished, principally three with turrets of gold, grates of gold wire every way to look out and canopies over of cloth of silver. Then the king descended the stairs with such an acclamation of 'Health to the King (Padshah sala'mat)' as would have outcried cannon. At the stairs' foot, where I met him and shuffled to be next, one brought a mighty carp; another a dish of white stuff like starch, into which he put his finger, and touched the fish and so rubbed it on his forehead, a ceremony used presaging good fortune. Another hung on his quiver with thirty arrows and his bow in a case, the same that was presented by the Persian ambassador. On his head he wore a rich turban with a plume of heron tops (Aigrettes) not many, but long; on one side hung a ruby unset; as big as a walnut; on the other side a diamond as great; in the middle an emerald like a hart, much bigger. His sash was wreathed about with a chain of great pearl, rubies and diamonds drilled. About his neck he carried a chain of most excellent pearl, three double, so great I never saw; at his elbows, armlets set with diamonds; and on his wrist three rows of several sorts. His hands bare, but almost on every finger a ring; his gloves, which were English, stuck under his girdle; his coat of cloth of gold without sleeves upon a fine semian[29] as thin as lawn; on his feet a pair of embroidered buskings with pearl, the toes sharp and turning up. Thus armed and accommodated, he went to the coach, which attended him with his new English servant, who was clothed as rich as any player and more gaudy and had trained four horses, which were trapped and harnessed in gold velvets. This was

their diamonds and pearls had sufficed to show them. When I looked up they retired, and were so merry that I supposed they laughed at me.' Roe, II. 520-1.

[29] As Foster points, semian (shamiana) is a mistake for sinabaff, 'a fine slight stuff or cloth whereof the Moors make their cabas or clothing.' (Letters received by the East India Company, I. p. 29.)

the first he ever sat in, and was made by that sent from England[30] so like that I knew it not but by the cover, which was a gold Persian velvet.

'He got into the end; on each side went two eunuchs that carried small maces of gold set all over with rubies, with a long bunch of white horse tail to drive away flies; before him went drums, all trumpets and loud music, and many canopies, quita solo (umbrellas) and other strange ensigns of majesty of cloth of gold set in many places with great rubies, nine spare horses, the furniture some garnished with rubies, some with pearl and emeralds, some only with studs enamelled. The Persian ambassador presented him with a horse. Next behind came three palanquins; the carriages and feet of *one* plated with gold set

[30] Foster has discovered a letter of Kerridge's in the British Museum from which it appears that the coach presented by Sir T. Roe to Jahangir on his first introduction to court and on behalf of the Company was worth £151 11s. in England.

The emperor examined every part of the coach and liked it very much (See Roe, I. 118-9).

He caused all the China velvet in the English coach to be taken off and 'in the room thereof put a very rich stuff, the ground silver, wrought all over in spaces with variety of flowers of silk, excellently well suited for their colours, and cut short like a plush; and instead of the brass nails that were first in it, there were nails of silver put in their places. And the coach which his own workmen made was lined and seated likewise with a richer stuff than the former, the ground of it gold, mingled like the other with silk flowers, and nails silver and double gilt; and after having horses and harness fitted for both his coaches, he rode sometimes in them, and contracted with the English coachman to serve him, whom he made very fine, by rich vests he gave him, allowing him a very great pension; besides he never carried him in any of those coaches, but he gave him the reward of ten pounds at the least, which had raised the coachman into a very great estate, had not death prevented it, that immediately after he was settled in that great service.' (Terry, p. 385.)

The name of the driver is given by Foster on the authority of Thomas Kerridge's letter as William Hemsell. He had previously been in the service of 'Dr. Farran and my Lord Bishop of Coventry and Lychfied' (Court Minutes January 3, 1615). 'The very great pension was,' says Foster on the authority of I. O. Records (O. C. No. 423), 'a rupee and a half per diem.'

In riding in a coach on his journey to the south, Jahangir was following a Hindu custom that kings or great men, when on military expeditions, should ride a tusked elephant if proceeding eastward: on a horse of one colour, if proceeding westward; in a palanquin or litter if proceeding northward, and in a rath or bahal if proceeding southward. Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 340.

Halt at Deorani.

A seven days' halt was made at Deorani.[32] A grand entertainment was held at Ramsir, the jagir of Nur Jahan Begam.

Jahangir interviews Jadrup.

The only other noticeable halt was that near Ujjain when the emperor went a quarter of a mile on foot to interview the celebrated Hindu sage Jadrup. The latter lived in a hole[33] which had neither a mat nor straw. Nor did he wear, even in the coldest weather, anything on his body except a piece of rag to hide his

great quantity of ground, that I believe it is five English miles at the least, from one side of them to the other, very beautiful to behold from some hill, where they may be all seen at once......

'The tents pitched in that Lashkar or camp royal are for the most part white, like the clothings of those which own them. But the Mughal's tents are red, reared up upon poles, higher by much than the other. They are placed in the midst of the camp, where they take up a very large compass of ground, and may be seen every way; and they must needs be very great, to afford room in them for himself, his wives, children, women, eunuchs, etc.

'In the forefront or outward part, or court within his tent, there is a very large room for access to him, 'twixt seven and nine of the clock at night, which......is called his Ghuzalkhana.

'His tents are encompassed round with canats, which are like our screens, to fold together; those canats are about ten feet high, made of narrow strong calico, and lined with the same, stiffened at every breadth with a cane; but they are strongest lined on their outside by a very great company of armed soldiers that keep close about them night and day. The tents of his great men are likewise large, placed round about his. All of them throughout the whole lashkar, reared up in such a due and constant order, that when we remove from place to place, we can go as directly to those moveable dewllings as if we continued still in fixed and standing habitations; taking our directions from several streets and bazaars, or market-places, every one pitched upon every remove alike, upon such or such a side of the king's tents, as if they had not been at all removed.' Voyage to East India, pp. 398, 400-1.

32 The text has Deo Ray. Beveridge points out that the I. O. MS. 305 has Deorani. It is distinctly mentioned that Prince Khurram, on his return from the victorious campaign against Mewar, encamped at Deorani. Most probably the same plain was used for Jahangir's encampment on this occasion.

The Maasir-i-Jahangiri has Rewary which has been adopted by Gladwin (p. 111).

33 The dimensions of the hole are variously given. Jahangir (p. 356) says that its entrance was 5½ girah (slightly over one-third of a yard) in length and 3½ girah (between one-fourth and one-fifth of a yard) in breadth.

Iqbalnama (p. 94) differs slightly. The M. U. (I. 574) follows the latter.

nakedness. He never lighted a fire to warm himself and always bathed twice a day in a tank close by. Once a day he went to the city of Ujjain to any three of the seven Brahman families of his choice to take five mouthfuls of their own preparations which he swallowed without chewing. A contemporary portrait executed at Ajmere, most probably by the emperor's orders, represents him as a very thin lean man, his face radiant with intellectual force and spiritual sanctity. He loved solitude and rarely, if ever, resorted to the society of men. He had won a great name for learning, piety, and asceticism. He had thoroughly mastered the Vedanta (one of the six systems of philosophy) which, as the well-informed emperor Jahangir remarks, 'is the science of Sufism.' The great Akbar, on his way from the Deccan to Agra in 1601, had interviewed him and always remembered him well. Jahangir conversed with him for several hours and was very highly impressed by him.[34]

Enters Mandu March 6. 1617.

After a leisurely journey of more than four months the Imperial party entered Mandu on March 6, 1617, and took their abode in the splendid buildings which the architect Abdul Karim had recently re-built out of the old remains for the purpose at a cost of Rs. 3,00,000.[35]

[34] J. R. A. S., July, 1919, pp. 389—93. The portrait itself is believed by Dr. Coomaraswamy to be one of the finest specimens of Mughal art.

Abul Fazl (Ain. I. 339) places Jadrup in the second class of sages, 'such as understand the mysteries of the heart.'

Jahangir saw him again a few days later and passed several hours in his company (R. and B.), I. 359.

Iqbalnama calls him Achhadup, so does the M. U.

Roe (II. 380) has the following entry under February 11, 1617:—

'The king rode to Ujjain to speak with a dervish or saint living on a hill who is reported to be 300 years old.'

Legend had already gathered round the holy man. He was popularly believed to be 300 years old (Roe, 380). The German traveller Heinrich von Poser heard and believed that in twenty-four hours Jadrup did not eat more than the quantity of grain 'he can lay hold of with five fingers.' (Quoted by William Irvine in J. R. A. S., 1910, p. 954).

[35] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 363-4. Iqbalnama, 96.

In the course of this journey the emperor had hunted two tigers, twenty-seven blue bulls, six chital (spotted deer), sixty deer, twenty-three hares and foxes, and 1,200 waterfowl and other animals. About this time he ordered the news-writers, hunt accountants, and huntsmen to inquire

History of Mandu.

Situated in latitude 22°20 min. N. and longitude 75° 28 min. E., 1,944 feet above the level of the sea, about sixty-five miles distant from Ujjain, Mandu had, for thirteen hundred years, formed one of the principal cities of the various Hindu and Muslim kingdoms established in Central India.

the total number of animals he had hunted down. It was calculated that from his twelfth year (1580) to his fifth lunar and forty-eight solar year, 28,532 animals had been taken in his presence. Of these 17,167 had been killed by himself. These were tabulated thus:—

QUADRUPEDS

Tigers	86
Bears, cheetas, foxes, otters, and hyaenas ..	9
Blue bulls	889
Mhaka (a species of antelope)	35
Antelope, chikara, chital, mountain goats, etc ..	1.670
Rams and red deer	215
Wolves	64
Wild buffaloes	36
Pigs	90
Rang	26
Mountain sheep	22
Arghali	32
Wild asses	6
Hares	23
TOTAL ..	3,203

BIRDS

Pigeons	10,348
Lagar jhagar (a species of hawk)	3
Eagles	2
Kites	23
Owls (chugad)	39
Qantan (goldfinch)	12
Kites (mice eaters)	5
Sparrows	41
Owls (bum)	30
Ducks, geese, cranes, etc.	150
Crows	3,276
TOTAL ..	13,929

AQUATIC ANIMALS

Crocodiles	10
TOTAL ..	10
GRAND TOTAL ..	17,142

Dilawar Khan Ghori (1387–1405), the founder of the independent kingdom of Malwa, divided his residence between Dhar, the ancient Hindu capital, and Mandu. His son, Alap Khan, permanently transferred the capital to Mandu and founded the famous fort which soon acquired the reputation of being the strongest citadel in that part of the world.[36] His successors laid out those charming gardens and fountains and built those splendid mosques, colleges, sarais, palaces, and tombs which made Mandu one of the most beautiful and delightful spots in the whole of India.

During the sixteenth century when Malwa became successively a province of Mewar and Gujrat, the second Pathan empire and the Mughal empire, Mandu declined rapidly. A few of the great buildings, such as the Jami Mosque, built all of cut stone by Sultan Hushang Ghori, the tombs of the Sultan Ghiyasuddin and others subsisted in all their beauty and magnificence; the stronghold continued, of course, as impregnable as ever; but the greater portion of the city fell into ruins.

Description of Mandu.

It revived partially under Akbar, but never again attained its former glory. From the contemporary European accounts it is possible to form an idea of what the city was like when the emperor took up his quarters there in 1617. 'That city,' writes Terry, who lived there at the Imperial court with his Lord Ambassador, '......is situated upon a very high mountain, the top whereof is flat, plain and spacious. From all parts that lie about it, except one, the ascent is very high and steep; and the

[36] 'This fortification,' writes Ferishta, 'is one of the most extraordinary in the world. It is built on the summit of an isolated mountain, said to be 18 kos. in circumference. The place of a regular ditch is supplied by a ravine, formed by nature round the fortification, which is so deep that it seems impossible to take the fort by regular approaches. Within the fort is abundance of water and forage, though there is not sufficient space for the purposes of cultivation. Any army besieging Mandu must confine its operations chiefly to blockading the roads; for it is scarcely possible to invest a place of such extent. Many of the roads from the fort are steep and difficult of access. That leading to the south, known by the name of Tarapur gate, is so rough and steep that cavalry can with difficulty be led up. The road on the north, leading to the Delhi gate, is by far the most easy of access.'

way to us seemed exceeding long, for we were two whole days climbing up the hill with our carriages, which we got up with very much difficulty ....That hill on which Mandu stands is stuck round (as it were) with fair trees, that keep their distance so, one from and below the other, that there is much delight in beholding them, either from the bottom or top of that hill....the place........not much inhabited before we came thither, having more ruins by far about it than standing houses. But amongst the piles that had held up their heads above ruin, there were a few unfrequented mosques.'[37]

'The old city,' writes William Finch, 'is from gate to gate four kos long north and south, but east and west ten or twelve kos; and yet to the eastward of all lies good pasture ground for many courses. Aloft on this mountain are some sixteen fair tanks here and there dispersed about the city.'

'That which is now standing is very fair but small in comparison of the former with diverse goodly buildings all of firm stone and fair, high gates, that I suppose the like not to be in all Christendom. At the entrance on the south within the gate of the city now inhabited, as you pass along on the left hand, stands a goodly mosque, and over against it a fair palace, wherein are interred the bodies of four kings, with exceeding rich tombs. By the side thereof standeth a high turret of one hundred and seventy steps high, built round with gallaries and windows to every room, all exceeding for goodly ports, arches and pillars; the walls also all interlaid with a green stone much beautifying. On the north side where I came forth lies a piece of a foot and a half bore in the mouth, but the breach was in the ground. The gate is very strong with a steep descent, and without this six others, all very strong, with great walled places for court of guard between gate and gate. On this side is also a small port, but the way thereto is exceeding steep. All along on the side also runs the wall, with flankers ever here and there among; and yet is the hill so steep of itself, that it is not almost possible for a man to climb up on all four to any part of it. So that

37 Terry, pp. 181, 183.

to man's judgment it is altogether invincible...... Without the walls of the city on this side, the suburbs entered four kos long but all ruinate, save certain tombs, mosques and goodly sarais, no man remaining in them.'[38]

Meanwhile Shah Khurram had pursued his way with his army to the Deccan front. At Dudpur, on the Mewar border, he was received by Rana Amar Singh, who furnished a contingent of 1,500 horse under Prince Karan.[39] On the left bank of the Narbada he was met by the Khan Khana, Khan Jahan, and Mahabat Khan in whose company he entered Burhanpur on March 6, 1617.

Shah Khurram is joined by Karan.

He had already opened negotiations with the enemy and despatched Afzal Khan and Raja Bikramajit to Adil Shah of Bijapur and to Ambar with a definite offer of peace on payment of tribute and restoration of the lost territory. The ambassadors

Shah Khurram's proceedings.

[38] William Finch in Purchas, IV. pp. 34-5.

For Mandu see Jahangir (R. and B.) I. 363—7. Iqbalnama, pp. 96-7, description of old buildings; pp. 97—8, review of history. K. K., I. 289-90.

Ferishta (Text), II. 468—534, specially 504—532.

Monserrate, Commentarius (Hoyland and Banerjee), pp. 15—18.

Briggs, IV. 209—280. Also other historians. Abul Fazl, Badauni, etc. Ain, II. (Jarrett), 196.

De Laet, tr. Lethbridge, Calcutta Review, LI, 1870, 359-60.

Terry, pp. 181—4.

Della Valle, I. 97. Herbert's Travels, 84.

Coryat's Crudities, Vol. III. extracts (unpaged), Jourdain, 148-9.

Also Sir J. Malcom's Central India, Vol. I. 29, 40, 'History of Mandu,' being the reprint of the anonymous work of a 'Bombay Subaltern.' Captain C. Harris's 'Ruins of Mandu.' J. M. Campbell's article on Mandu in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Historical Society, XIX, 52-53 for 1805—7, pp. 154—201.

Captain E. Barnes in the same, XXI. 57—59. The same, 1901—3, pp. 339—92, for both Dhar and Mandu.

For extremely interesting and instructive accounts of buildings as they stand at present see Fergusson II. pp. 246—52. Also Archælogical Survey, Annual Report, 1903-4, pp. 30—45. Also the Imperial Gazetteer.

[39] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 345. K. K., I. 288.

The Maasir-i-Jahangiri says that the meeting took place at Anomleh and that Jagat Singh was appointed to accompany Shah Khurram. The version of Jahangir and Motamad Khan is more reliable. See also the Bir Vinoda.

were received with all honour and ceremony. The Deccanis must have realized that the advent of Shah Khurram and the approach of the Emperor would at once extinguish the advantage which they had so far gained from the mutual dissensions of Mughal officers. They must have perceived that, in spite of their guerilla tactics, they were only too likely to be overborne by Shah Khurram's overwhelmingly numerous and superbly equipped forces. Moreover, the Deccan confederacy knit together by Malik Ambar was, thanks partly to Mughal gold and diplomacy, crumbling away.

They readily accepted the olive branch held to them. Adil Shah himself waited on the prince with a magnificent present worth fifteen lakhs of rupees from the Deccan Chiefs. All the territory of Balaghat recently seized by Malik Ambar was ceded to the Mughals, while the keys of the fort of Ahmednagar and other strongholds were formally delivered.

Peace.

Shah Khurram at once despatched Sayyid Abdullah Barha to convey the news to the Imperial headquarters. The ambassador first waited on Nur Jahan who communicated the message to the emperor, receiving in return a jagir worth Rs. 2,00,000. Rejoicings were ordered. Drums were beaten.[40] A few days later the emperor received a letter from Shah Khurram announcing the arrival of Afzal Khan, Ray Rayan, and the ambassadors of Adil Khan with 'suitable offerings of jewels, jewelled things, elephants and horses, offerings such as had never come in any reign or time.' The Prince also requested that Adil Khan might be dignified with the title of Farzand, 'a son' of the emperor. Accordingly, the State Office at once prepared a high-flown farman in which the emperor wrote with his own hand:

Peace concluded.

> 'Thou'st become, at Shah Khurram's request,
> Renowned in the world as my son.'[41]

[40] Jaahngir (R. and B.), I. 368, 380, 380-81, 382. Iqbalnama, 99—101. K. K., I. 290-1.
[41] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 387-8. Iqbalnama, 101. K. K., I. 292.

No sooner had peace been concluded than Khurram proceeded to make the necessary arrangements for the defence and administration of the Deccan provinces. The Khan Khana was appointed governor of Berar, Khandesh, and Ahmednagar and his eldest son Shah Nawaz Khan was stationed in the ceded territory with 12,000 cavalry. Reliable officers were appointed to every post. 30,000 horse and 7,000 musketeer infantry were left in the Deccan provinces.[42]

With the remaining 25,000 horse and 2,000 gunners, and with most of the principal officers like Khan Jahan Lodi, Abdullah Khan, Mahabat Khan, Darab Khan, and Sardar Khan, the Prince left Burhanpur, reaching Mandu on October 12, 1617. Not one full year had passed since he left Ajmere. In the Deccan itself he had served only six months.

Shawwal 11, 1026. October 12, 1617. Mihr. 20, 12.

As might have been expected his reception was of the grandest. His grandmother and all the great nobles went out to welcome him home with presents and offerings.[43] 'After he had performed the dues of salutation and kissing the ground, I called him up into the Jharokha, and with exceeding kindness and delight rose from my place and held him in the embrace of affection. In proportion as he strove to be humble and polite,' continues Jahangir, 'I increased my favours and kindness to him and made him sit near me.' He was promoted to the unprecedented rank of 30,000 zat and suwar, styled Shah Jahan (King of the World), and entitled to a chair near the throne in darbar.

His lieutenants, Khan Jahan Lodi, Abdullah Khan, Mahabat Khan, Darab Khan, son of the Khan Khana, Sardar Khan, brother of Abdullah Khan, Shajaat Khan the Arab, Dayanat Khan, Shahbaz Khan, Motamad Khan Bakhshi, and Uda Ram, a deserter from Ambar, were honoured with inter-

[42] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 393.
Iqbalnama, 102.
[43] Roe, 419–20.

views, presents and rewards. Nor were the ambassadors of Bijapur left in the outer darkness.[44]

Shah Jahan himself received a 'special dress of honour with a gold embroidered charqab, with collar, the end of the sleeves and the skirt decorated with pearls worth Rs. 50,000, a jewelled sword with a jewelled paradala (belt) and a jewelled dagger.[45]

Presents to Shah Jahan.

On Thursday, Aban 10, the public hall of audience witnessed a spectacle of dazzling brilliance. There Shah Jahan's offerings were exhibited together with 100 Arab and Iraq horses and 150 elephants adorned with gold and silver trappings and jewelled saddles. There was a ruby of 19½ tanks, of rare weight, estimated at Rs. 200,000; a sapphire weighing 6 tanks and 7 surkhs, and valued at Rs. 100,000; the Chamkora diamond,[46] weighing 1 tank and 6 surkhs and valued at Rs. 40,000; an emerald of unsurpassed beauty of colour and delicacy, the last three forming part of the offerings of Ibrahim Adil Shah. Again there were two pearls weighing 64 and 16 surkhs and valued at Rs. 25,000 and Rs. 12,000, respectively. Another diamond, presented by Qutb-ul-mulk, weighed 1 tank and was valued at Rs. 30,000.

Shah Jahan's offerings, Thursday, 10th.

Among the elephants, Nur Bakht, presented by Shah Jahan himself, was worth Rs. 125,000; Mahipati and Bakhtbuland, sent by Adil Shah, and Qaddus Khan and Imam Riza, sent by Qutb-ul-mulk, were estimated at Rs. 100,000 each. To Nur

[44] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 394-5.
Iqbalnama, 103-4.
K. K., I. 293-4.

[45] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 395.
Iqbalnama, 103-4. K. K., 294.

[46] The name was derived from the plant Chamkora.
'At the time when Murtaza Nizam-ul-mulk conquered Berar he had gone one day with his ladies round to look at the garden, when one of the women found the diamond in the chamkora vegetable, and took it to Nizam-ul-mulk. From that day it became known as the chamkora diamond, and came into the possession of the present Ibrahim Adil Khan, during the interregnum of Ahmednagar.' Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 400.

Jahan Shah Jahan offered presents worth Rs. 200,000, and to his other step-mothers worth Rs. 60,000. Altogether his presents were estimated at Rs. 2,260,000.[47]

Result of the Prince's proceedings.

The glitter of jewels and the revelry of banquets shed a false lustre round Shah Jahan's achievements. As a matter of fact, he had only followed up the successes of Abdur Rahim Khan Khana with a temporary truce. Nothing could conceal the stern reality that the expenditure of millions of rupees and thousands of lives had not advanced the Mughal frontier a single mile beyond the limit of 1605. On the other hand, there had for a time been a serious set-back; Ahmednagar had been lost; Balaghat had gone the same way; the Mughal territory had been meanaced. The situation had been retrieved by the Khan Khana and his son. All that Shah Jahan did was to strike terror by his grand army and patch up a peace. But the junta celebrated this performance with high pomp and magnificence which were calculated to enhance their own glory and prestige.

[47] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 399–401.
Iqbalnama, 105.
K. K., I. 294.
For short notices of the Deccan affairs, see M. U. I., 185, 188.
(Beveridge), I. 50, 97, 167, 283, 450, 483, 532-3.

Appendix to Chapter XI

Jahangir's March from Ajmere to Mandu

A.H.	A.I.	A.D.	Stages
	The 11th		
Zilqada	regnal year		
1	Aban		
..	21		Leaves Ajmere.
..	21—28		Halts at Deorani.
..	29	..	Dasawali.
	Azar		
..	3		Badhal.
..	4	..	Ramsir (Entertainment).
..	4—12	..	Halts at Ramsir.
..	13	..	Baloda.
..	13—15	..	Halts at Baloda.
..	16	..	Nihal
..	18	..	Jonsa.
..	20	..	Deogaon.
..	20—22		Halts at Deogaon.
..	23	..	Bahasu.
..	26	..	Outside the village Kakal.
..	29	Dec. 19	Lasa near Boda.
	Day		
..	2	..	Neighbourhood of Kauza.
..	4	..	Surath.
..	6	..	Barora.
..	7	..	....
..	8	..	....
..	9	..	Khushtal.
..	10	..	Rantambhor.
..	10—12	..	Halts at Rantambhor.
..	12	..	Koyala.
..	14	..	Ektora.
..	14—16	..	Halts of Ektora.
..	17	..	Lasaya.
..	19	..	Kuraka.
..	22	..	Sultanpur and Chhitamala.
..	25	..	Basur.
..	27	..	Chanduha.
..	27—29	..	Halts at Chanduha.
Moh. 12 (1026)	Bahman	Jau. 20 (1617)	....
12	1	20	Rupahera.
..	3	..	Kakhadas.
..	6	..	Amhar.
..	8	..	Near Khairabad.
..	..	..	Sidhara.
..	11	..	....

Jahangirs March from Ajmere to Mandu—(contd.)

A.H.	A.I.	A.D.	Stages
12	12	Jan. 31	Bachhyari.
..	14	..	Balbali.
..	16	..	Giri.
..	18	..	Amariya
..	19	..	Halt.
..	20	..	March.
..	21	..	Halt.
..	22	..	Bulghari.
..	23	..	Halt.
..	24	..	Qasimkhera.
..	25	..	A halt.
..	27	..	Hinduwal.
..	28	..	Kaliyadaha.
	Isfandarmuz		
..	2	..	March.
..	4	..	Jarao.
..	6	..	Debalpur Bheriya.
..	11	..	Daulatabad.
..	13	..	Nilcha and Saugor.
..	17	..	Hasilpur.
..	22	(Sunday)	Lake at the foot of the fort of Mandu.
..	23	(Monday)	Enters Mandu.

CHAPTER XII

JAHANGIR'S TOUR IN GUJARAT

THE EPIDEMICS

No sooner was the Deccan question set at rest than Jahangir resolved on a tour in Gujarat to see the province with his own eyes, to hunt wild elephants and enjoy the spectacle of the immense ocean. The elderly ladies and part of the household and the establishment left for Agra while the emperor himself with Nur Jahan and Shah Jahan started for Cambay, which they reached after a leisurely journey of two months.[1]

Jahangir starts on a tour in Gujarat.

One of the oldest, largest, and most renowned seaports on the western coast, Cambay was no longer acccessible to large ships which had now to unload at Goga on the neighbouring firth. The customs of the busy harbour had formed one of the chief revenue sources of the independent kingdom of Gujarat. On its incorporation into the Mughal Empire, Akbar improved the port and the market and ran round the city a wall of brick about twelve feet high with towers at regular intervals. His active encouragement of commerce made the town, as Pyrard de Laval observed, 'one of the greatest and richest of all the coast of India where merchants resort from all quarters of the world.' The streets were spacious with gates at the ends which were closed at night. The buildings were lofty, built of brick, roofed with tiles, with cisterns to catch the rain-water. Ivory bracelets, agat cups, chaplets and rings were manufactured in abundnace. Many a shop was stuffed with aromatic perfumes, spices, silk and ivory manufactures. Suburbs larger than the city sprang up all round. Public

Cambay.

1 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 401-2.
Iqbalnama, 106.
Maasir-i-Jahangiri (Khuda Bakhsh MS.) 139 (*a*).
K. K., I. 294. Gladwin, 42.

gardens beautified the whole environment. The population consisted chiefly of Hindus.[2]

Among the most remarkable sights of the city were the pinjarapoles or veterinary hospitals. One of them gave asylum to birds of all species, which were found ill, lame, mateless or emaciated, and which were tended with the utmost care.

Hospitals for birds.

'....The house of this hospital,' says Pietro della Valle, 'is small, a little room sufficing for many birds. Yet I know it full of birds of all sorts which need tendance, as cocks, hens, pigeons, peacocks. ducks and small birds, which, during their being lame, or sick or mateless, are kept here, but being recovered and in good plight, if they be wild are let go at liberty; if domestic they are given to some pious person who keeps them in his house. The most curious thing I saw in this place were certain little mice, who, being found orphans without sire or dame to tend them, were put into this hospital, and a venerable old man with a white beard, keeping them in a box amongst cotton, very diligently tended them with his spectacles on his nose, giving them milk to eat with a bird's feather, because they were so little that as yet they could eat nothing else; and, as he told us, he intended, when they were grown up, to let them go free whither they pleased.'[3]

The next morning Della Valle's party saw 'another hospital of goats, kids, sheep and wethers, either sick or lame, and there were also some cocks, peacocks and other animals needing the same help, and kept altogether quietly enough in a great court; nor wanted there men and women, lodged in little rooms of the same hospital, who had care of them. In another place, far from hence, we saw another hospital of cows and calves, some whereof had broken legs, others more infirm, very old or lean,

Hospitals for quadrupeds.

[2] Ain, Jarrett II. 241. Jahangir (R. and B.). I. 416, 417.
De Laet, tr. Lethbridge, Calcutta Review, LI., 1870, p. 350.
Pietro della Valle, I. 66-67. Pyrard de Laval, II, Part I, p. 250.
Thevenot III. Chap. VI, pp. 12-13. Also William Finch.
Briggs, Cities of Gujarashtra, p. 281.

[3] Della Valle, I. 67-8.

and therefore were kept there to be cured. Among the beasts there was also a Mahometan thief, who having been taken in a theft had both his hands cut off. But the compassionate gentiles, that he might not perish miserably, now he was no longer able to get his living, took him into this place, and kept him among the poor beasts, not suffering him to want anything.'[4]

At Cambay the emperor halted for ten days, visiting places of interest, interviewing merchants, distributing lavish charity, and going to sea on board ship. Leaving Cambay on December 30, 1617, he entered Ahmedabad on January 5, 1618.

Ahmedabad.

Situated on the bank of the Sabarmati in the midst of a very fertile region, Ahmedabad had long been the capital of Gujarat and a centre of industry and commerce. Sarkhej and other villages in the neighbourhood manufactured vast quantities of the finest indigo which was reckoned among the staple articles of Indian trade. The city itself was the seat of a busy industry in cloth of gold, silver tissue, velvet, baftas, birames, pintadoes, which had acquired an international fame. Hindu, Muslim, and Christian merchants and artisans congregated here in large numbers. A whole street called Darzi Sarai or Tailors' Inn was reserved for caravans and was locked up at night. The other streets were fair, spacious, and straight but rather dusty. The whole city, as large as contemporary London, was enclosed by strong walls of brick and stone, flanked with towers and battlements at regular intervals and pierced by twelve wide, beautiful gates. The royal palace had a jharokha window looking over a square area, with an elevated pavement and enclosed with a rail of coloured wood. The Diwan-i-Am was an immense square court surrounded by white polished walls. Beautiful mosques and temples, merchantile mansions, spacious gardens with straight walks of trees which reminded French visitors of the Cour de la Reine at Paris, made the city one of the finest in India. With Agra, Mandu and Lahore it ranked among the four

[4] Pietro della Valle, I. 70.

entres of the empire. Extensive suburbs sprang up without the walls. A mile to the south-east lay a renowned artificial lake, called Kankria Talao, with steps to descend as in Surat lake, with a fair building, garden, and tank in the midle, connected with the mainland by a long arched bridge. When illuminated at night, the whole presented a most picturesque appearance.[5]

The emperor spent three months and a half at Ahmedabad and lavished charity on merit and need.[6]

On return from an elephant hunt, he found the whole city and camp in the grip of an epidemic such as had once appeared there in 1590, and as appeared in Calcutta in 1779 and 1824, and over the whole country in 1918 when it was called 'influenza.' Almost every one was tortured by inflammatory fever or pains for a few days. Most of the people recovered but suffered from pathetic feebleness for weeks afterwards. Jahangir himself had an attack. He recovered in two days but found himself extremely weak for

Influenza.

[5] Ain. Jarrett II. 240-1.
Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 419, 423, 424-15, 429.
Iqbalnama, 107-8.
K. K., I. 294.
De Laet, tr. Lethbridge, pp. 350-1.
Terry, 179. Withington, Purchas IV. 167.
Jourdain, 171-2. Della Valle, I. 95-6, 67.
Herbert, 61-2. Peter Mundy, II. 266.
Thevenot III, Chap. V, 8, 10.
Tieffenthaler, I. 374—9.
Travernier, I. 72. Mandelslo, 30.
Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh, tr. Sarkar, India of Aurangzeb, 59—62.
Briggs, Cities of Gujarashtra, 275.
Gladwin, 42.
Hope and Fergusson, Architecture of Ahmedabad.

[6] While at Ahmedabad, 'my employment by day and by night,' says Jahangir, 'was the seeing of necessitous persons and the bestowing on them of money and land. I directed Shaikh Ahmad the Sadr and some other tactful servants to bring before me dervishes and other needy persons. I also directed the sons of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus.... and other leading Shaikhs to produce whatever persons they believed to be in want. Similarly I appointed some women to do the same thing in the harem. My sole endeavour was that as I a king had come to this country after many years, no single person should be excluded. God is my witness that I did not fall short in this task, and that I never took any rest from this duty.' Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 440.

many days. Shah Jahan was ill for ten days but very feeble for the next few weeks. The epidemic was ascribed to the exceptional heats and resultant 'corruption of the air.' But to ascertain the real cause was then, as now, beyond the resources of medical science. It is significant that it followed a scarcity and a war.[7] It may be remarked that the epidemic generally proved fatal to European residents who were unaccustomed to the climate and on whom the terrible heats told severely.[8]

Thoroughly disgusted with the climate, the dust and the epidemical outbreak at Ahmedabad,[9] the emperor prepared to

[7] Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 10, 13, 14.
Iqbalnama, 115. K. K., I. 294.
Gladwin, 44.

[8] The following is the horrible account painted by a survivor, the Rev. Edward Terry, of the havoc wrought in Sir Thomas Roe's embassy:—

'This pestilence makes the bodies of men there which are visited with it, like a house, which on a sudden is covered all over with fire at once. The city of Ahmedabad (at our being there with the king) was visited with this pestilence in the month of May, and our family was not exempted from that most uncomfortable visitation; for within the space of nine days seven persons that were English of our family were taken away by it; and none of those that died lay sick above twenty hours, and the major part well and sick and dead in twelve hours. As our surgeon (who was there all the physician we had) and he led the way, falling sick at midday and at midnight dead. And there were three more that followed him, one immediately after the other,, who made as much haste to the grave as he had done; and the rest went after them, within that space of time I named before. And, as I before observed, all those that died in our family of this pestilence had their bodies set all on fire by it; so soon as they were first visited, and when they were dying and dead, broad spots of a black and blue colour appeared on their breasts; and their flesh was made so extremely hot by their most high distemper, that we who survived could scarce endure to keep our hands upon it.

'It was a most sad time, a fiery trial indeed......

'All our family (my Lord Ambassador only excepted) were visited with this sickness, and we all, who through God's help and goodness outlived it, had many great blisters, filled with a thick yellow watery substances, that arose upon many parts of our bodies, which when they broke did even burn and corrode our skins, as it ran down upon them. Voyage to East India, 226-7.

[9] 'I am amazed to think what pleasure or goodness the founder of this city could have seen in a spot so devoid of the favour of God as to build a city on it...... Its air is poisonous, and its soil has little water, and is of sand and dust.... Its water is very bad and unpalatable, and the river which is by the side of the city is always dry except in the rainy season. Its wells are mostly salt and bitter, and the tanks in the neighbourhood

start for Agra on Thursday, August 18, at the hour fixed by the astrologers, but was detained by the torrential rains that followed the unusually severe summer. On September 2, his fiftieth solar birthday, he started at last scattering gold and silver and encamped on the bank of the Kankriya tank which was brilliantly illuminated.[10]

Jahangir leaves Ahmedabad, 21st Shahriwar, Ramzan 22, 1027, September 2, 1619.

The march was performed in the usual dilatory fashion. On the way, at Dohad, on the evening of Sunday, October 24, 1618, in the nineteenth degree of Libra, Mumtaz Mahal gave birth to her third son, who was shortly after christened by his grandfather as Aurangzeb. Nothing illustrates the futility of human wishes better than Jahangir's hope 'that his (Aurangzeb's) advent may be auspicious and blessed to this everlasting State.' At Ujjain, where the imperial camp was pitched eighteen days later, Shah Jahan held a magnificent entertainment in honour of the infant's birth and presented a tray of jewels, jewelled ornaments, and fifty elephants to the Emperor.[11]

Birth of Aurangzeb, 12 Aban, Zilqada 15, 1027, October 24, 1618.

While the imperial party was still at a long distance from Agra, the cold weather set in and news came from the metropolis

of the city have become like butter-milk from washermen's soap.... Outside the city, in place of green grass and flowers, all is an open plain full of thorn brakes (Laqqum) and as for the breeze that blows off the thorns, its excellence is known.

'O thou, compendium of goodness, by which of thy names shall I call thee'?

I had already called Ahmedabad Gardabad (the abode of dust).

'Now I do not know whether to call it Samumistan (the place of the Samum or Aimoom) or Vemaristan (abode of Sickness, or Zaqqum zar (the thorn bed) or Jahannamabad (the house of hell), for it contains all these varieties.' Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 13.

The Iqbalnama (p 115) and the Maasir-i-Jahangiri slavishly echo these sentiments. K. K., I. 294-5 puts in a word for the poor city. Abul Fazl (Jarrett, II. 240) is enthusiastic about its climate.

[10] Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 25, 47.
Iqbalnama, 117. K. K., I. 296.

[11] Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 47. K. K., I. 296.
Gladwin, p. 45.
Iqbalnama, p. 119, has Zilqada 11=October 20, 1618, as the date of Aurangzeb's birth.

that the bubonic plague had once more broken out in the Doab. That deadly epidemic, so familiar to modern India since 1897, had first appeared in the western districts of the Punjab, where most probably it was introduced from Central Asia in the very commencement of the winter of 1616-17. Jahangir's laconic statement that 'under the armpits or in the groin or below the throat buboes formed and they died' holds as true to-day as in 1618 when it was penned.[12]

The bubonic plague, 1616–24.

It spread with extreme rapidity to Lahore, thence to Sirhind, to Delhi, Agra, and finally through the whole country of the Doab. 'When it was about to break out,' writes the contemporary chronicler, Motamad Khan, 'a mouse would rush out of its hole as if mad, and striking itself against the door and the walls of the house, would expire. If, immediately after this signal, the occupants left the house and went away to the jungle, their lives were saved; if otherwise, the inhabitants of the whole village would be swept away by the hand of death. If any person touched the dead or even the clothes of a dead man, he also could not survive the fatal contact. The effect of the epidemic was comparatively more severe upon the Hindus. In Lahore its ravages were so great, that in one house ten or even twenty persons would die, and their surviving neighbours, annoyed by the stench, would be compelled to desert their habitations. Houses full of the dead were left locked, and no person dared to go near them through fear of his life. It was also very severe in Kashmir, where its effect was so great that (as an instance) a darvesh, who had performed the last sad offices of washing the corpse of a friend, the very next day shared the same fate. A cow, which had fed upon the grass on which the body of the man was washed, also died. The dogs, also, which ate the flesh of the cow, fell dead upon the spot. In Hindustan no place was free from the visitation which continued to devastate the country for a space of eight years.'

12 Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 65.

During this period, 1616—1624, the plague would appear in some tract or other at the commencement of winter and generally disappear at the advent of the hot weather. Sometimes, indeed as in 1617-18, it would decline for a time with the decline of winter, but revive again for a time in the spring. In 1618-19 it devastated Agra and the neighbouring country, but westward it did not spread further than Amanabad some eighteen miles distant, leaving Fathpur Sikri entirely untouched. Probably the complete desertion of Amanabad and other places by the inhabitants was responsible for the safety of the old metropolis of India.[13]

Unfortunately, no official returns for the mortality in the various years in the various regions are available. As regards the very first outbreak which occurred in October, 1616, Salbancke, writing to the East India Company about the 'wonderfully great plague,' says that sometimes no less than 1,000 people died a day. Making allowance for all possible exaggeration, the average mortality must have reached a few hundreds. Sir T. Roe, writing under November 25, 1616, notes that Master Crowther, coming from Agra, informed him that the 'plague was violent' there. Again, under December 15, 1616, Master Fettiplace arrived at the Lashkar from Agra, being out of business and leaving Master Salbancke with the goods, who determined to lock up the house and remove to Fathpur on account of the vehement rage of the plague. Under January 14, 1617, Roe records the news from Agra, that 'the plague was fallen to 100 a day and great hope of the clearing of the town,'[14] from which also it may be inferred that the

[13] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 330. II. 6, 65. Iqbalnama, 88-9 (E. and D.), VI. 405-6.

It is difficult to understand why houses full of the dead were locked by any one. Perhaps the chronicler is indulging in a bit of rhetoric.

[14] Roe, II. 307-8, 352, 366, 375.

See also Letters received, V. p. 104.

Letters received by the East India Company, Vol. VI, pp. 198-9. Also I. O. Records (O. C. No. 568), as quoted by Foster n. 1 on p. 307 of his edition of Sir T. Roe's journal.

Writing under October 29, 1616, Roe mentions that he 'judged it dangerous to send up the goods into an infected place whence no commodity could be suffered to pass and to engage the Company's servants.'

mortality had been much higher in the previous November and December.

Concerning the outbreak of 1618-19 which, as has been the case in so many years of the present century, continued all through the spring of 1619,[15] the Imperial officers at Agra, in the reports which they sent to the emperor, estimated the average daily mortality in the metropolis at 100,[16] and the figure may be accepted as correct for that year.

The poorer people, of course, suffered most from the pestilence, but even the homes of the highest nobles were not exempt. An incident related to Jahangir by the late Asaf Khan Jaffar Beg's daughter, wife to Abdullah Khan, son of the Khan Azam, and recorded by the emperor 'on account of its strangeness,' illustrates the matter so well and is in itself so picturesque as to deserve reproduction.

An incident.

"One day in the courtyard of the house," she said, "I saw a mouse rising and falling in a distracted state. It was running about in every direction after the manner of drunkards and did not know where to go. I said to one of my girls: 'Take it by the tail and throw it to the cat!' The cat was delighted and jumped up from its place and seized it in its mouth, but immediately dropped it and showed disgust. By degrees, an expression of pain and trouble showed itself in its face. The next day it was nearly dead, when it entered into my mind to give it a little treacle (tiryaq, opium). When its mouth was opened, the palate and tongue appeared black. It passed three days in a state of misery and on the fourth day came to its senses. After this the grain (dana) of the plague (buboes) appeared in the girl, from excess of temperature and increase of pain she had no rest. Her colour became changed—it was yellow inclining to black—and the

[15] Thomas Kerridge, William Biddulph, Thomas Restell, and Giles writing from Surat on March 12 and 13 (in duplicate for fear of miscarriage of letters); on the basis of advices from Agra, state that 'the plague increaseth in Agra.' English Factories in India, 1618—21, p. 82.

[16] Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 65.

Francis Fettiplace, writing on December 1, 1618, only says that 'the plague is hot in Agra.' English Factories in India, 1618—21, p. 47.

fever was high. The next day she vomited and had motions and died. Seven or eight people in that household died in the same way, and so many were ill that I went to the garden from that lodging. Those who were ill died in that garden but in that place there were no buboes. In brief, in the space of eight or nine days, seventeen people became travellers on the road of annihilation.' She also said, 'Those in whom the buboes appeared, if they called another person for water to drink or wash in, the latter also caught the infection, and at last it came to such a pass that through excessive apprehension no one could come near them."[17]

It is not surprising that an epidemic which the medical science of the twentieth century has failed to diagnose with anything approaching certainty and to combat with anything like success, simply bewildered the people of the first quarter of the seventeenth century, especially as it appeared to them to surpass 'everything known and recorded in former ages.'[18]

They could not, of course, fail to notice the fact of infection from mice or human patients, but they do not seem to have understood anything of what is known as bacteriology. They do not seem to have discovered any efficacious remedy for the disease. The only serious and useful precaution which they could use, and indeed did use on a grand scale, was evacuation. Whole towns like Amanabad were deserted.

A comet.

In 1616-17 the epidemic was attributed to the draught of the two preceding years, or to the corruption of the air brought about by it, or to similar causes.[19] But when it continued even during years of good rains

[17] Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 66-7.

[18] Iqbalnama, p. 118. (E. and D.), VI. 407. 'Nor,' adds Motamad Khan, 'is there any mention made of such in the authentic works of Hindus.' Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 330 syas, 'It became known from men of great age and from old histories that this disease had never shown itself before in the country.'

[19] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 330. Terry, 393. The terrible famine of 1595—8 had also been followed by 'a kind of plague' which devastated whole cities. See Shaikh Nurul Haq, Zubdatut Tawarikh E. and D. VI. 193. For other cases of plague, see Maasir Alamgiri, 318, quoted in J. N. Sarkar's Aurangzeb, IV, 391 (at Bijapur, 1658). Manucci, IV. 97 (in the Deccan, 1703-4).

and plenty, the people were content to ascribe it to the divine wrath and to the sinister influence fo a heavenly portent, 'a vaporous matter in the shape of a column' which appeared for sixteen nights at first in the sign of Scorpio and then in that of Libra, extending, as a comparison of different measurements by astronomers showed, over twenty-four degrees, and which was followed by a comet of a peculiar formation.[20]

Enters Agra, Sunday 1 Urdi-bihisht.

Owing to the prevalence of the plague at Agra, Jahangir passed the spring of 1619 at Fathpur Sikri and entered the metropolis only in the middle of April after an absence of five years and a half.[21]

[20] For a full account of the portent, see Iqbalnama, pp. 117-8. (E. and D.). VI. 406-7. Also K. K., I. 297. Terry, p. 393. Gladwin, 44.

[21] Jahangir (R. and B.), I., 78—84. Iqbalnama, 125—7. Maasir-i-Jahangiri (Khuda Bakhsh MS.), 139 (a). K. K., I. 297-8.

APPENDICES TO CHAPTER XII

I

Jahangir's March from Mandu to Ahmedabad

Ilahi Era	Day	Stage
Aban		
10	Friday ..	Leaves Mandu.
..	....	Encamps at Nalchha.
14	Monday ..	Village of Kaid Hasan.
20	Sunday ..	Hasilpur for hunts alone.
26	Saturday ..	Kamelpur.
Azar		
3	Friday ..	Pargana of Dekhtan.
4	Saturday ..	Dhar.
8	Wednesday ..	Sadalpur.
11	Saturday ..	Halwat.
12	Sunday ..	Pargana of Bednor.
14	Tuesday ..	Silgarh.
15	Wednesday ..	Near Ramgarh
16	Thursday ..	A march and halt.
17	Friday ..	Dhaval.
18	Saturday ..	Bakor or Nagor.
..	Sunday ..	Tank of village Samariya.
20	Monday ..	Chief place of the Dohad Pargana.
22	Wednesday ..	Ranyad or Renar.
24	Friday ..	Jalot village.
26	Sunday ..	Village of Namdah.
27	Monday ..	Bank of a tank.
28	Tuesday ..	Township of Sahra.
Day		
1	Friday ..	Jhasoda.
2	Saturday ..	The Bank of the Mahi.
3	Sunday ...	Village of Bardala.
4	Monday ..	Chitra seina.
5	Tuesday ..	Monda.
6	Wednesday ..	Pargana Naryad
7	Thursday ..	Pargana Pitlad.
8	Friday ..	Cambay seashore.
8—18	....	Halt at Cambay.
19	Tuesday ..	Leaves Cambay and encamps at Kosala.
	(December 30, 1617)	
20	Wednesday ..	Passes through the Bahra pargana and halts on the bank of the river
22	Friday ..	Barcha.
23	Saturday ..	Kankariya tank.
24	Sunday ..	Halts.
25	Monday ..	Enters Ahmedabad.

Jahangir's March from Mandu to Ahmedabad—(contd.)

Ilahi Era	Day	Stage
Isfandarmuz		
1	Monday ..	Leaves Ahmedabad and encamps on the Kankariya tank.
1—4	....	Halts at Kankariya.
5	Friday ..	Encamps on the Ahmedabad river.
8	Monday ..	Moda (Mahaondat), 4¼ kos.
9	Tuesday ..	Jarsima 5½ kos.
17	Wednesday ..	Barasinor (Balsinor), 6 kos.
18	....	The Mahi bank, 2½ kos.
20	Saturday ..	Tank of Jharmud, 3¾ kos.
23	Tuesday ..	The bank of the Bayab, 3½ kos.
24	Wednesday ..	Hamda, 3½ kos.
26	Friday ..	Village of Jalod, 5¼ kos.
27	Saturday ..	Boda, 3 kos.
28	Sunday ..	Dohad, 5 kos.
Farwardin (13)		
11	Saturday ..	Kara Bara (Garbara).
12	Sunday ...	Village of Sajara (Sajwara).
13	....	Elephant hunting.
16	Thursday ..	Kara Bāra.
18	Saturday ..	Pargana of Dohad.
21	Tuesday ..	Marches towards Ahmedabad.
23	....	Jalod.
27	....	Village of Baduvala in the pargana of Sahra.
29	Wednesday ..	The Mahi bank.
Urdibihisht		
1	Tuesday ..	Marches.
4	Saturday ..	The river at Mahmudabad.
6	Thursday ..	Kankariya tank.
7	Friday ..	Ahmedabad.

II

Jahangir's March from Ahmedabad to Agra

Ilahi Era	Day	Stage
13	1618	
Shahriwar	....	
7	Thursday ..	The advanced camp starts, but the rains hold back the main camp.
21	Sept. 2	The main camp starts and halts at the Kankariya tank.
26	....	Kaj or Ganj.
27	Wednesday ..	Mahmudabad.
Mihr		
8	Monday ..	Muda.
10	......	Aena or Albatta.
22	......	(Marches)
23	......	(,,)
28	Sunday ..	Marches from the Mahi.
29	Monday ..	Marches again.
30	Tuesday ..	The river Benas (?)
Aban		
3	Friday ..	(Marches)
7	Tuesday ..	(,,)
8	Wednesday ..	(,,)
10	Friday	(,,)
11	Saturday ..	Dohad.
15	Wednesday ..	Samarna Tamarna.
16	Thursday ..	Bakhur.
17	Friday	(Marches)
18	Saturday ..	Ramgarh.
20	Monday ..	Sitalkhera.
22	Wednesday ..	Madanpur Badhnur.
25	Saturday ..	Nawari or Nulai.
26	Sunday ..	River Chambal.
27	Monday ..	River Kabnar or Gambhar.
28	Tuesday ..	Ujjain (Aurangzeb's birth festivities)
3	Sunday ..	Qasemkhera.
4	Monday ..	(Marches)
5	Tuesday ..	(,,)
6	Wednesday ..	(,,)
7	Thursday ..	Bank of a tank.
8—13	Friday-Wednesday..	Marches.
14	Thursday ..	Sandhara.
17	Sunday ..	Crosses Ghatichanda
20	Wednesday ..	(Marches)
22	Friday	(,,)
23	Saturday ..	(,,)
Dai		
2	Sunday ..	Rantambhor.
5	Wednesday ..	(Marches 5 kos)
7	Friday	(,, 5 kos)

Jahangir's March from Ahmedabad to Agra—(contd.)

Ilahi	Day	Stage
Dai		
8	Saturday ..	(Marches $4\frac{1}{4}$ kos)
10	Monday ..	(,, $3\frac{1}{4}$ kos)
11	Tuesday ..	(,, $5\frac{3}{4}$ kos)
12	Wednesday ..	(,, $3\frac{1}{2}$ kos)
14	Friday	(,, $5\frac{1}{4}$ kos)
15	Saturday ..	(,, to Bayana, 3 kos)
16	Sunday	Badha.
18	Tuesday ..	Dayarman.
19	Wednesday ..	Lake of Fathpur.
28	....	Entry into Fathpur.
Urdibihisht		
1	....	Agra.

CHAPTER XIII

MINOR CONQUESTS AND ANNEXATIONS

JAHANGIR had early relinquished all designs on Transoxiana. An attempt on Little Tibet in 1612, resulted in disaster and was never repeated in his reign.[1] His arms did not prosper in the Deccan. The only additions he made to the empire were Mewar and a few isolated tracts which had escaped conquest or annexation during the reign of Akbar.

Unsuccessful attempt at Little Tibet, 1612.

Khokhara, in the jungles of Bihar, famous for its diamonds found in a river-bed, long resisted incorporation into the Mughal empire. Its jungles and vales formed a natural defence; its diamonds disarmed many a Mughal captain. In 1615, however, its chief, Durjan Sal, was surprised by the incorruptible governor of Bihar, Ibrahim Khan, brother of Nur Jahan Begam. Neither the wilds nor the proffered bribes of elephants and diamonds deterred him from his project. Durjan and his family concealed themselves in the woods but were discovered and robbed of all. Twenty-three elephants fell into the hands of the Mughals. Khokhara was annexed and its diamonds declared a monopoly of the State. Ibrahim Khan was styled Firoz Jang and raised to 4,000, while the services of his lieutenants were suitably acknowledged.[2]

Khokhara annexed, 1615.

On the border of Orissa and Golconda lay a comparatively primitive district called Khurda interspersed with hills and jungles which had been overrun by the Mughals under Akbar's reign but which had

Khurda.

[1] Abdul Hamid, Padshahnama, I. Pt. II. p. 281.
(E. and D.), VII. 62.

[2] Jahangir (R. and B.), Motamad Khan, Kamghar, and Khafi Khan borrow Jahangir's account.
Gladwin, 34-5.
'There is a river there,' writes the Emperor, 'from which they procure diamonds. At the season when there is little water, there are pools and water-holes and it has become known by experience to those who are employed in this work that above every water-hole in which there are

never been really subjugated. The territory extended to the seacoast and included Puri with its famous temple of Jagannath which then, as now, attracted swarms of Hindu pilgrims from all over India. The native ruler, Purushottam Dev, could bring into the field thousands of foot and horse and numerous chariots—veritable moving wooden fortresses. While Hashim Khan, the Mughal governor of Orissa, was resolving plans for the conquest of Khurda, his Rajput lieutenant, Raja Keshodas Maru, whose loyalty to self and to sovereign had extinguished all reverence for truth and religion and who held a jagir in Cuttack, brought matters to a crisis. Under pretence of a pilgrimage, he visited the temple of Jagannath and treacherously seized it with its property estimated at more than two or three crores of rupees. He subjected the Brahman priests to torture to extort the hidden wealth. He surpassed himself by converting the holy edifice into a fort.

The siege of the temple of Jagannath.

The tidings of this outrage called Purushottam Dev out with a large force of infantry and cavalry and numerous chariots, each driven by hundreds of men. The Uriyas laid siege to the temple but Keshodas defended himself with true Rajput valour. His followers, by means of long poles dipped in clarified butter and oil, set fire to the towering chariots. Nevertheless, the conflict inclined in favour of Purushottam Dev, Keshodas was soon left with but 400 Rajputs. But the tidings that large Mughal reinforcements under Hashim Khan and others were being urged by Islam Khan, the governor of Bengal, to hasten to the scene disheartened Purushottam Dev. He consented to make peace on rather humiliating terms. He promised to marry his daughter to the emperor and his sister to Keshodas, to pay a tribute of three lakhs of rupees to the Imperial exche-

diamonds, there are crowds of flying animals of the nature of gnats and which, in the language of India, they call jhinga. Keeping the bed of the stream in sight as far as it is accessible, they make a collection of stones round the water-holes. After this they empty the water-holes with spades and shovels to the extent of a yard or 1 yards and dig up the area. They find among the stones and sand large and small diamonds and bring them out. It occasionally happens that they find a piece of diamond worth Rs. 1,00,000.'

quer and a present of a lakh of rupees to his prospective brother-in-law. Keshodas was duly married at Khurda, but a dispute following the ceremony led to his precipitate flight.

Purushottam resumed independence, but shortly afterwards, in 1611, Raja Kalyan, son of Raja Todar Mal and now governor of Orissa, raided and devastated his territory. Reduced once more to a sorry plight, Purushottam made peace, sent his daughter to the Imperial harem and paid the stipulated tribute along with a renowned elephant Sheshnag as a present.

Raja Kalyan's invasion.

History repeated itself. Purushottam again asserted independence. In 1617 Mukarram Khan, the governor of Orissa, invaded, devastated, and annexed Khurda. The native ruling family was relegated to the status of a Zamindar, but only a few years later it revolted and created considerable trouble again. The Mughal frontier now marched with Golconda to the serious perturbation of the reigning Qutb-ul-mulk, who requested Shah Jahan, then governor of the Deccan, to see that the Mughal commander, Mukarram Khan, did not encroach on his dominions.[3]

Annexation by Mukarram Khan. 1617.

The same year saw the humiliation of the Jam and the Bahara, two Cutch chiefs, who had never yet paid homage to a Mughal emperor. The dominion of the former lay between Sorath and the sea, produced the finest horses in India, maintained a force of 5,000 or 6,000 horse and could double the number at need. The Bahara ruled a small district along the sea marching with Sindh. Both enjoyed a sort of independence.

Submission of the Jam and the Bahara.

3 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 433. The account of Mughal operations against Khurda is based chiefly on the narration of the Baharistan Ghaibi (Paris MS.) summarised by Prof. J. N. Sarkar in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society II. Part I, pp. 53–6.

The Baharistan-i-Ghaibi ascribes to Purushottam Dev 10,000 cavalry, three to four lakhs of infantry, and many charitos (*raths*), each mounted by 500 to 1,000 soldiers. Maulana Shaikh Mubarak says that the Raja had 500 chariots, each having a thousand legs and propelled by 1,000 men.

A. N. III. 491 (E. and D.), VI. 71–80 wrongly names Khurda as Kokra.

Both were humbled by Raja Bikramajit, deputy of Shah Jahan and governor of Gujarat. Some time later they waited on Jahangir and did homage.[4]

Three years later a more important conquest was effected in the north. Kishtwar was a small, hilly, semi-primitive district in the south of Kashmir close to the Punjab border. The rapid Chenab, which could be crossed only on planks suspended on two ropes fastened to hillocks on either side, protected it from foreign aggression. At a distance of two bowshots, the Maru, a mountain stream, constituted an additional line of defence. Wheat, barley, lentils, millet, and pulse formed the chief agricultural produce. Fine oranges, citrons, melons, grapes, and apricots grew in abundance. Its saffron was reckoned superior to that of Kashmir. Here the maund weighed only two Hindustani seers, while the Sanhansi, the unit of exchange, equalled two-thirds of a rupee.

Kishtwar.

A peculiar revenue system prevailed in Kishtwar. Nothing was charged on cultivation as such. Every house had to contribute a sum equal to four rupees per annum. Every purchaser paid four rupees per two Indian seers of saffron purchased. But the greatest source of income was the heavy fines inflicted, specially on wealthy folk, even for trivial offences. The total income of the State amounted to Rs. 1,00,000. All the revenue from saffron was appropriated to the maintenance of a band of 700 Rajput musketeers. Horses were rare, but, in times of war, the Raja could furnish seven thousand foot.[5]

Such was the country which Jahangir had set his heart on conquering. In 1616 Ahmad Beg Khan Kabuli, on his appoint-

4 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 443.
Iqbalnama, 110, 111, M. U. (Beveridge), I. 413.
Fath Kangara (Rampur MS.), (E. and D.), VI. 519, 521.

5 Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 137-9: Iqbalnama, 143–6.
M. U. (Beveridge), I. 490.
See also the Imperial Gazetteer.
Kishtwar is situated in lat. 33° 18′ 30″ N. long. 75° 48′ E., near the left bank of the Chenab.

ment to the government of Kashmir, promised to subdue Kishtwar along with Tibet in two years. On his failure to keep his word, he was replaced by Dilawar Khan, who gave a similar promise in writing.[6]

Dilawar Khan, governor of Kashmir.

About this time Gahar Chak and Aiba Chak, descendants of the old Kashmiri ruling family and pretenders to the throne of Kashmir, had taken refuge with the Raja of Kishtwar and reinforced him with their followers.[7]

Marches against Kishtwar.

Accordingly Dilawar Khan made his preparations on a large scale. His son Hasan with Gird Ali Mir Bahr was left in charge of the government at Srinagar. His brother Haibat was stationed at Desu near the pass of Pir Panjab to guard against possible surprises. Dilawar Khan himself with 10,000 men, most of whom were necessarily foot soldiers, marched against Kishtwar. At Desu, where Haibat was stationed, he divided his force into two parts, one of which under his younger son Jalal, with Nasrullah Arab Ali Malik Kashmiri in subordinate command, marched by one road, while the other commanded by Dilawar Khan himself, hastened by the road of Sanginpur. A body of young men with Jamal, another son of Dilawar Khan, served as advance-guard to the latter force. At a short distance on the right as well as on the left marched two other contingents.

The corps of Jalal and Jamal effected their junction near Narkot, one of the strongholds of Kishtwar. Unable to resist

[6] Ibrahim Dilawar Khan had distinguished himself in the affair of the Rajput Akhiraj's three sons who proposed to join the Rana in 1605 and who were ordered to be arrested by the Emperor. Having thus won the favour of the Emperor, he had been appointed to govern the Punjab, where his defence of Lahore against the rebel prince Khusrau led to his further promotion in official rank. In 1613 he had been appointed to accompany Prince Khurram in the successful campaign against Mewar. Five years later he was sent to succeed Ahmad Beg Khan Kabuli as governor of Kashmir.

Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 29. II. 5, 6. Iqbalnama, 114.
M. U. (Beveridge). I. 487-8.

[7] Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 135.
M. U. (Beveridge), I. 488.

the large army, the Raja's men abandoned the fastness and took to flight. The Raja himself arrayed his force on the left bank of the Maru, where a battle was fought. As might have been expected, the victory rested with the Mughals; Aiba Chak was slain and the Raja was forced to retreat across the river, establish himself at Bhandarkot, and concentrate his energies on the defence of the river-line in general and the bridge in particular. Here he was remarkably successful for a while. For twenty days and nights the Imperialists strained every nerve to cross the stream but were always driven back. In the skirmishes at the head of the bridge, the Kishtwar soldiers uniformly attained success, inflicting heavy casualties on their opponents.

But when after twenty days the forces of Jamal and Jalal were immensely reinforced by the arrival of Dilawar Khan who had been detained behind by the work of establishing military stations to hold the conquered tracts and making adequate commissariat arrangements, the Raja lost heart. He made overtures for peace, offering immediately to send his brother with presents to the court and promising, as soon as peace was concluded, to wait on the Emperor in person.

Sure of his prey, Dilawar Khan haughtily declined all accommodation and bent his energies on crossing the Maru. With a band of young men, Jamal swam across the stream at a point considerably up the current and fell on the enemy unawares, while the rest of the army made a spirited attack at the head of the bridge. After a short struggle the Kishtwar men, realizing the hopelessnes of their position, broke the planking of the bridge and fled away. The Imperialists rebuilt the bridge and crossed over and, the enemy flying away before their approach, entrenched themselves securely at Bhandarkot. The next and indeed the most difficult step was to cross the Chenab across which the enemy had now taken their quarters and along which they had stationed their musketeers, archers, and men-at-arms at all points where rope-bridges or zampas might possibly be constructed.

Dilawar Khan sought to surprise them by transporting eighty young warriors across the river on rafts at night, but

the rapid current swept away the rafts, drowning sixty-eight of the men. Ten of the gallant band swam safely back, while the remaining two, who got to the other side, were captured and imprisoned.

For four months and ten days all the efforts of the Imperialists to force a passage on rafts or ropes by day or at night proved abortive. At length, a local Zamindar pointed out a spot which could serve very well for a zampa, but which somehow the Kishtwar men had failed to notice and guard. Here a rope-bridge was accordingly made. Here at dead of night Jalal with about 200 Afghans and some other soldiers crossed over stealthily and safely. Early in the morning they fell in full force on the Raja's camp unawares. Many of the Raja's attendants were slaughtered, while many others fled away. The Raja himself was on the point of being cut off by the sword of a soldier, when he cried out, 'I am the Raja; take me alive to Dilawar Khan.' He was spared, arrested, and brought to Dilawar Khan.

The Imperialists cross over.

Surprise attack on the Raja.

The Raja captured.

Leaving Nasrullah Arab in charge of the new conquest, the Mughal commander soon after marched with his captive to the capital of Kashmir.[8]

On Tuesday, March 21, 1620 (12th Farwardin), that is, on the morrow of the arrival of the Imperial camp at Srinagar, Dilawar Khan produced the Raja of Kishtwar in chains before Jahangir. 'He is not wanting in dignity,' writes the Emperor, 'his dress is after the Indian fashion and he knows both the Hindi and Kashmiri languages. Contrary to other Zamindars of these regions, he looked like the inhabitant of a town. I told him that, notwithstanding his offences, if he would bring his sons to court, he should be released from confinement, and might live at ease under the shadow of the eternal State, or else he

The Raja is brought before the Emperor.

[8] Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 135–8, 170. Iqbalnama, 145-6. K. K., I. 301.2- Gladwin, 47 and 49. M. U. (Beveridge), I. 488-9.

would be imprisoned in one of the forts of Hindustan. He said that he would bring his people, his family and his sons to wait on me and was hopeful of my clemency.'

Dilawar Khan was granted one year's revenue of Kishtwar, which amounted to Rs. 1,00,000 or nearly equalled the pay of a mansabdar of 1,000 zat and suwar.[9]

Kishtwar was conquered, but the Imperialists did not follow that conciliatory policy which had borne such splendid results elsewhere in India. On the other hand, Nasrullah goaded the people to the verge of revolt. A favourable opportunity presented itself to them when he yielded to the request of his auxiliary forces to go to court in expectation of promotion and also to dispose of their private affairs. The reduction of the Imperial forces was the signal for a conflagration on all sides. Bridges were broken, roads were blocked and Nasrullah besieged in the fort. After a few days, the Imperialists, who had no provisions and no immediate hope of succour, were overpowered and killed or imprisoned.

Jahangir heard of the revolt on Friday, Shahriwar 27 (September, 1620), and at once despatched Jalal with a number of Kashmiri forces and numerous retainers of his father and neighbouring Zamindars. Raja Sangram of Jammu was also directed to march by the hill road with his men from Jammu.[10]

Shahriwar 27, September, 1620.

Jalal, however, failed in his duty and was superseded by Iradat Khan, who was also invested with plenary powers to settle the country. The rebels were now sternly suppressed,[11] but nearly two years later the country was in a blaze once more. Iradat Khan, the governor of Kashmir, marched out once more with a considerable army,

1622.

[9] Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 123, 139-40. Iqbalnama, 146.
[10] Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 170-1.
Gladwin, 51.
[11] Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 209-10.
Gladwin, 54.

stamped out the disaffection, and established strong garrisons at the strategic points.[12]

Kangara.

The last and the greatest of the minor conquests of Jahangir's reign was the fort of Kangara which had never yet passed under Muslim command.

The Kangara region in the north-eastern Punjab consists of 'a series of parallel ranges divided by longitudinal valleys.' In beauty and grandeur of scenery it stands second only to Kashmir. It bristles with natural strongholds which require only a moderate expenditure of human skill and labour to withstand a hostile attack for long.

The strongest of all the strongholds was the fort of Kangara, which was destroyed by the earthquake of 1905. Perched on the crest of a lofty hill, it was half a mile in length, over two miles in inner circumference, and nearly sixty yards in height. It had twenty-three bastions and seven gates. Two broad reservoirs within furnished a constant supply of fresh water. The neighbouring heights could command only a part of the fort. Starvation alone could reduce a resolute garrison to surrender. Close by were a number of other mountain fastnesses, Dhamri, Haripur, Pahari, Hara, Thatta, Pakrota, Sur, Jawali, Taragarh, etc., all commanded by hill chieftains.

The neighbouring Jwalamukhi or volcano, supposed to represent the spot where parvati's breast dropped when she immolated herself in indignation at her father's affront to her husband, has been a place of worship and pilgrimage from immemorial antiquity. The temple at Nagarcot, the principal city in the region, was paved with pure silver. The ceiling was burnished to dazzling brightness. The small, short, stone idol, which represented Durga or Bajreshwari Devi, was an object of universal reverence. Many a devotee offered his tongue or his throat under the vain delusion that he would be healed within half-a-day.[13]

[12] Jahangir (R. and B.) II. 235, 238.
Gladwin, 54.

[13] The modern district of Kangara lies between north latitude 31° 20′ and 32° 58′ and east longitude 75° 39′ and 78° 35′.

The temple was plundered of its untold weath and the neighbouring region overrun by Mahmud of Ghazni in 1009. A generation later, however, the Hindus came to their own again and the old line of Rajas resumed sway. The sovereigns of Delhi repeatedly attempted the conquest of the fort but were always foiled. Sultan Firoz Tughlak (1351—1388), among others, led a mighty army, but was content, after a futile siege, to receive the nominal homage of the Raja. From the reign of Sultan Ghyasuddin to the accession of Akbar, the Delhi sovereigns are said to have been formed 52 futile sieges.[14]

A few years later Akbar despatched a force under Husain Quli Khan to besiege Kangara, but the enterprise was inter-

For the fort, the volcano, and the temple, see Ain II. (Jarrett), 314.
Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 223-4, 5.
Iqbalnama follows the emperor.
Fath Kangara, Rampur (MS. (E. and D.), VI. 526.
K. K., I. 306-7. M. U. (Beveridge), I. 415-6.
William Finch, Purchas IV. 69-70.
Terry, 82-3.
Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh, tr. Sarkar, India of Aurangzeb, 93-4.
Tieffenthaler, I. 108.
Gladwin, 55-6.
Punjab District Gazetteers X, Kangara, 1904, pp. 1—8.
Also the map, Kangara District Gazetteer, p. 256.

[14] Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 184. Fath Kangara (E. and D.), VI. 526.
(E. and D.), II. 34, 444-5, (E. and D.), III. 405-7, 515, 570. (E. and D.), IV. 67, 415, 544.
Blochmann, Indian Antiquary, 1872, p. 264.
J. A. S. B., 1875, p. 192. Kangara District Gazetteer, I. 24—9.

Jahangir and his court historian record a tradition that the Sultan Firoz Tughlaq consented to an entertainment offered by the Raja within the fort. 'The Sultan, after going round and inspecting it (the fort), said to the Raja that to bring a king like him inside the fort was not according to the dictates of caution. What would he do if the body of men who were in attendance (on Firoz) were to attack him and take possession of the fort? The Raja made a sign to his men, and instantaneously an army of valiant men armed and accoutred came out from a concealed place and saluted the Sultan. The Sultan became suspicious and anxious about an attack from these men, and suspected some stratagem. The Raja came forward and kissed the ground of service and said: "I have no thought but that of service and obedience, but, as has been spoken by the auspicious tongue ,I observe far-sighted caution, for all times are not the same." The Sultan applauded him. The Raja, having accompanied him for some stages, obtained leave to return.'

Shams-i-Siarj (188, E. and D., III. 317) is wrong in his statement that the Raja surrendered the fort to Firoz Tughlaq.

rupted by the outbreak of Ibrahim Husain Mirza's revolt.

Akbar.

Another attempt in 1582 was deflected by other preoccupations and by the voluntary homage of the reigning Raja Jai Chand and, according to legend, by the intercession of the goddess. The subsequent campaigns reduced the hill country, but failed before the fort of Kangara itself.[15]

In March, 1615, Jahangir commissioned Murtaza Khan, governor of the Punjab, with Suraj Mal, son of Raja Basu, as

In Jahangir's reign.

second in command, to reduce Kangara. Suraj Mal naturally disliked the extension and consolidation of Mughal influence so close to his patrimony. He thwarted his chief and probably intrigued with the enemy. Murtaza Khan complained to the emperor. Suraj Mal sought the intercession of Prince Khurram. In obedience to an imperial summons, he presented himself at court in March, 1616, but convinced the prince of his innocence.

In October next he accompanied the prince on the celebrated Deccan expedition and ingratiated himself fully into the favour and confidence of his patron. On the death of Murtaza Khan he was appointed by the dominant junta against Jahangir's own better judgment, to command the Kangara expedition. He promised to reduce the fort within a year but, as soon as he reached the theatre of war, he fell out with his associate in command, the trusty Taqi; procured his recall at the hands of Shah Jahan, now entrusted with the supreme charge of the Kangara affair; disbanded the forces; broke into revolt; allied himself with the hill chiefs; plundered the Imperial territory; and defeated the Imperialist Sayyid Safi Barha. But Raja Bikramajit, who had been sent to replace Taqi, soon stopped his aggressive career. Suraj Mal's jagir was ravaged and taken possession of by the Imperialists. He himself was driven to seek shelter in the hill forts which were stormed in quick succession by Bikramajit. In the course of the operations an Imperial detachment advancing too far into the difficult vales

[15] A. N., III. 348. Faizi Sirhindi. Akbarnama (E. and D.), VI. 125–9. Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 184. M. U. (Beveridge), I. 414-5.

was massacred. But, on the whole, the Mughals had the advantage. Suraj Mal, now broken-hearted, fell a prey to a fatal disease. His host, the Raja of Chamba, surrendered unconditionally, and gave up the whole of Raja Suraj Mal's property, including fourteen elephants and 200 horses, all of which escheated to the State. The fort and the buildings erected by Raja Basu and Suraj Mal were razed to the ground. Jagat Singh, brother of the late chief, was installed on the Masnad with the rank of 1,000 zat and 500 suwar on the understanding that he would co-operate with Raja Bikramajit against Kangara.[16]

The siege was now pressed with full vigour. A complete blockade was established. Batteries were erected all round. Starvation set in. For weeks together the besieged subsisted on boiled dry grasses. No relief was possible from any quarter. Death stared the garrison in the face. After a siege of fourteen months they surrendered at last on November 16, 1620.[17] The vast treasures collected in the fort fell into the hands of the Imperialists.[18]

[16] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 283, 311, 324-5, 388, 392-3. II. 54—6, 74-5, 166.
Iqbalnama, 117, 120, 121-2, 124, 125.
Fath Kangara (Rampur HS.) E. and D., VI. 520—4.
K. K., I. 297.
M. U. (Beveridge), I. 413-4. 525. II. 178.
Gladwin, 35, 45, 46.

[17] Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 185. K. K., I. 306-7. Gladwin, 50-1. The author of the Fath Kangara (E. and D., VI. 525-6) says that a breach was effected by the Imperialists and a most bloody contest ensued between the garrison and the Imperialists and that only towards the evening the latter could make themselves masters of the fort. But Jahangir's statement about the surrender is quite clear.
Also see Iqbalnama. Maasir-i-Jahangiri. Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh.

[18] Fath Kangara, E. and D., VI. 525.
E. and D., VI. 527—33.
For a discussion of the authorship of the Fath Kangara see E. and D., VI. Appendix, Note D, pp. 517-8. The Journal of the U. P. Historical Society, June, 1919, pp. 56—62. The writer of the article is mistaken in supposing that Bikramajit and Sundar Das were two different presons.
My conclusion regarding the authorship of the Fath Kangara is the same as that of Sir H. Elliot. It was composed not by Niamat Ali Khan but by the Jalala Tibatiba.

Jahangir was transported with delight at a victory which no Muslim sovereign of India, not even the great Akbar, had been able to achieve.[19] A year later he visited the fort in the company of the Chief Qazi, Mir Adl, and a number of orthodox Muslim divines, and performed one of the few intolerant acts of his reign by ordering a bullock to be slaughtered and a mosque to be erected within the fort.[20]

19 Jahangir (R. and B.). II. 185-6.
Fath Kangara, E. and D., VI. 525-6.

20 Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 223. Motamad Khan Kamghar, Khafi Khan, Sujan Rai and others practically reproduce Jahangir's account.

CHAPTER XIV

THE BREAK UP OF THE NUR JAHAN JUNTA

NATURE had dowered Jahangir with a splendid constitution, but it was seriously affected by wine and opium, ease and dissipation. As he entered on old age, he went from bad to worse and soon became a misreable decrepit. In 1618 he found himself unequal to the hot and sultry summer of Gujarat, suffered from 'influenza,' and displayed grave symptoms of asthma.[1] On the advice of his physicians, he reduced his allowance of wine a little, but that did not improve him much.[2] Early in 1619 the congestion of blood produced serious trouble in his eyes which was cured only by the opening of a vein.[3] He paid annual visits to that paradise on earth, Kashmir, but received no permanent benefit. His first sojourn of seven months, from March to October, 1620, is remarkable for his graphic pen-pictures of natural scenery,[4] but it failed to cure him of his

Jahangir declines in health.

[1] Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 12-13, 35.

[2] 'At first it was six cups every evening, each cup being $7\frac{1}{2}$ tolas, or altogether 45 tolas. The wine was usually mixed with water. Now I drank six cups, each of which was six tolas and three mashas, altogether $37\frac{1}{2}$ tolas.' Jahangir, II. 35.

[3] Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 77.

[4] Jahangir's leisurely journey from Agra to Srinagar took 168 days. Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 97-8, 139. Iqbalnama, 127-8. Maasir-i-Jahangiri (Khuda Bakhsh MS.), p. 142 (*a*). Price's Jahangir (139-40) has a fantastic account of the journey.

In spite of ill-health the stay was enjoyed by Jahangir who made it a point to visit as many spots of pleasure and interest as he could. As might be expected of such a keen observer of nature and so passionate a lover of beauty, he was simply charmed by Kashmir. 'If one were to praise Kashmir,' he says in a vein of hearty enthusiasm, 'whole books would have to be written....'

'Kashmir is a garden of eternal spring, or an iron fort to a palace of kings—a delightful flowerbed, and a heart-expanding heritage for dervishes. Its pleasant meads and enchanting cascades are beyond all description. There are running streams and fountains beyond count. Wherever the eye reaches, there are verdure and running water. The red rose, the violet, and the narcissus grow of themselves; in the fields, there are all kinds of flowers and all sorts of sweet-scented herbs more than can be

ailments. On the other hand, he suffered from frequent attacks of asthma. The treatment of Hakim Ruhullah brought convalescence, but on his return to the plains in November, 1620, he suffered a relapse and found himself on the brink of the grave. The proud and confident Hakim Rukna, the Persian Sadra, styled the Messiah of the age, and Hakim Abul Qasim, renowned far and wide, gave him up as hopeless. He sought to drown his pain in floods of liquor, but only got deeper into

calculated. In the soul-enchanting spring the hills and plains are filled with blossoms; the gates, the walls, the courts, the roofs, are lighted up by the torches of banquet-adorning tulips. What shall we say of these things of the wide meadows and the fragrant trefoil.'

Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 143-4.

Cf. Thomas Moore in his 'Lala Rookh':—

'Who has not heard of the vale of Kashmere
With its roses the brightest that earth ever gave
Its temples and grottos and fountains as clear
As the love-lighted eyes that hang over their wave?'

Jahangir says of one of the meadows, 'Undoubtedly whatever praise they might use in speaking of that flowery land would be permissible. As far as the eye reached flowers of all colours were blooming. There were picked fifty kinds of flowers in my presence. Probably there were others that I did not see.' *Ibid.*, II. 162-3.

Of another, the Ilaq of Kurimarg, he speaks in a truly poetic vein. 'How shall I write its praise? As far as the eye could reach flowers of various hue were blooming, and in the midst of the flowers and verdure beautiful streams of water were flowing. One might say that it was a page that the painter of destiny had drawn with the pencil of creation. The buds of hearts break into flowers from beholding it. Undoubtedly there is no comparison between this and other Ilaqs and it may be said to be the place most worth seeing in Kashmir.' *Ibid.*, II, 164. Again, after describing the beautiful Machi Bhavan spring, he writes thus of another named Achval (Achibal):—'The water of this spring is more plentiful than that of the other (Machi Bhavan), and has a fine waterfall. Around it lofty plane-trees and graceful white poplars, bringing their heads together, have made enchanting places to sit in. As far as one could see, in a beautiful garden Ja'afari flowers had bloomed, so that one might say it a piece of paradise.' *Ibid.*, II, 173.

Again, of the Virnaq fountain, the head of the Jhelam, situated at the foot of a hill, where, as a prince, he ordered a beautiful building to be erected. 'The water of the reservoir was so clear that notwithstanding its four gaz (12 ft.) of depth, if a pea could have fallen into it, it could have been seen. Of the trimness of the canal and the verdure of the grass that grew below the fountain, what can one write? Various sorts of plants and sweet-smelling herbs grew there in profusion, and among them was seen a stem, which had exactly the appearance of the variegated tail of a peacock. It waved about in the rippe, and bore flowers here and there. In short, in the whole of Kashmir, there is no sight of such beauty and

misery than ever. Prince Parvez hurried to his bedside. The affectionate care of Nur Jahan alone saved his life. She gently led him to diminish his drink, to abstain from unwholesome diet, and to take appropriate remedies. He recovered, but his health continued as delicate as ever. He sought to abandon

enchanting character. It appears to me that what is up stream in Kashmir bears no comparison with what is down stream. One should stay some days in these regions and go round them so as to enjoy oneself thoroughly ......I gave an order that plane trees should be planted on both sides, on the banks of the canal abovementioned.' *Ibid.*, II. 174.

His description of the scenery, rivers, villages, springs, valleys and hills, plants and flowers, birds, and animals, as well as the people, is a remarkable specimen of easy, flowing, beautiful graphic Persian. It has been adopted almost verbatim by contemporaries like Motamad Khan and Kamghar. as well as by later writes like Khafi Khan, Sujan Rai, and a host of others, and may still be read with pleasure and interest.

See the interesting list of birds and animals which are not found in Kashmir. (Jahangir, II. 168-9, 170.) Among other things, see the account of blind-fish found in the Audh nag. Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 174. Also Iqbalnama. Maasir-i-Jahangiri. Gladwin, 49. K. K., I. 302—4. Sujan Rai, K. T. For other descriptions of Kashmir see Ain (Jarrett), II. 347—68. By far the most readable modern account is that by Sir Richard Temple in his journals kept in Hyderabad, Kashmir, Sikkim, and Nepal (ed. by R. C. Temple, London, 1887). For Kashmir, Vol. I. pp. 267—314 (Introduction) and Vol. II, pp. 1—149. The maps are specially valuable. Bernier (ed. Constable), pp. 390—428. Drew's Jammu and Kashmir. Kashmir by Sir Francis Younghusband. Walter Del Mar's Romantic East, Burma, Assam and Kashmir. Sir W. Lawrence's Valley of Kashmir.

Also T. O. D. Dunn, Kashmir and its Mughal Gardens, Calcutta Review, No. CCLXXXVIII, April, 1917. J. J. Modi's article, Mughal Emperors at Kashmir, in J. B. B. A. S., Vol. XXV, No. 1, 1917-18, pp. 26—75.

By Jahangir's orders, Virnag, the fountain-head of the Jhelum, had already been beautified by the construction of a building and the laying out of a garden. Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 141-2.

He now converted the garden of Shalamar into a veritable knot of paradise. Nothing bears more eloquent testimony to Jahangir's sense of landscape than the sites he chose in Kashmir for the construction of buildings and rest-houses and laying out of gardens.

'I frequently embarked,' he writes, 'in a boat, and was delighted to go round and look at the flowers of Phak and Shalamar. Phak is the name of a paragana situated on the other side of the lake (Dal). Shalamar is near the lake. It has a pleasant stream, which comes down from the hills, and flows into the Dal lake. I bade my son Khurram dam it up and make a waterfall, which it would be a pleasure to behold. This place is one of the sights of Kashmir.' Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 151. The ruins of Jahangir's buildings may still be seen.

Also see the beautiful coloured map of Shalamar as it stands to-day, in Temple's journals, Vol. II, facing p. 117.

Agra and to found a new city for himself on the skirts of the hills on the bank of the Ganges. He abandoned the project and contented himself with annual visits to Kashmir. Early in 1623 he found himself no longer equal to writing his diary and entrusted the task to Motamad Khan. Never did he recover his old strength and vigour.[5] The whole administration fell into the hands of Nur Jahan.

Though supreme for the moment, Nur Jahan was alarmed by the rapid decline of the emperor's health. Thoroughly accustomed to the exercise of sovereign power, her restless brain, her imperious instincts would now be satisfied only with unquestioned dominion. She was in full enjoyment of her splendid vigour of body and mind, but her husband might expire any week. Would not her supremacy expire with his life? He was to be succeeded by Shah Jahan, who had now completed nearly thirty years of age, who had been designated for the throne by honours and dignities such as no heir-apparent had ever received. The whole empire had been taught to look upon him as its future master. He had established his influence in several provinecs and over many distinguished generals and regiments. Nur Jahan had been associated with him too long and too closely, not to perceive that he was full of pride, that he overflowed with energy, that he burnt with ambition, that he was gifted with undoubted abilities to rule and command. He would make a very different sort of monarch from the delicate, ease-loving Jahangir. He would be his own master. He would brook the dominion of no one, least of all, of the imperious Nur Jahan. In a single empire there was no room for two such masterful spirits as Nur Jahan and Shah Jahan. Each had known the other too well to be under any delusion. The issue was perfectly clear—Nur Jahan must either soon retire from public life or supersede Shah Jahan by a more pliable instrument. With characteristic daring and ambition, she preferred the latter course. The diffiulties were

[5] Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 176, 178, 212, 213-4, 215, 217, 246, 248. Iqbalnama, 184, M. U., I. 577.
Abdul Hamid, Padshahnama, I, Pt. II. p. 347.

great but she was not the person to be deterred by any difficulties. She cast her eyes round and settled on Shahriyar as her candidate for the succession.

Shahriyar, the youngest surviving son of Jahangir, had completed sixteen years but had never given any promise of ability. Hawkins, indeed, mentions an instance of his exemplary patience under pain but the incident, even if true, proves nothing. He never developed any strength of character. He was incapable of winning greatness or of bearing it when it was thrust on him. As he was dragged into the limelight of publicity, the popular instinct fastened on him the nickname of 'good-for-nothing' (Nashudani).

Shahriyar.

He was just the tool that Nur Jahan wanted. Khusrau was too able, ambitious, and popular, and much too grievously wronged by her to serve her purpose. Parvez was a drunken, sottish mediocrity, devoid of ability but full of ambition and vanity and, as seemed likely, destined to an early grave. The tender age, docile nature, feeble mind, and imbecile character of Shahriyar marked him out as the proper instrument for a masterful lady.[6]

Adopted as her candidate by Nur Jahan.

[6] There was not much foundation for the popular rumour current in 1616-7 and reproduced by Roe, about Nur Jahan's proposal to marry her daughter to Khusrau.

Writing to Surat on December 12, 1616, Roe mentions that 'Sultan Khusrau shall marry Nur Mahal's daughter and have liberty and that all the faction will adhere to him.'

Again writing under August 21, 1617, 'Nur Mahal and Asaf Khan, by their father's advice, came out to make a peace with Khusrau and alliance and with infinite joy his liberty is expected.'

Again under August 25, 'This day feasted Nur Mahal (and?) the Prince Sultan Khusrau; as is reported to make a firm alliance, and that he will bring away a wife, by his father's importunity. This will beget his full liberty and our proud master's (Khurram's) ruin.' See Roe, pp. 363, 404, 407. Similar references occur in the Letters Received and the English Factories in India. Della Valle, I, pp. 56-7 expressly states that Nur Mahal repeatedly offered her daughter in marriage to Khusrau, that the latter's wife herself exhorted him to accept the alliance as it would bring him liberty and prosperity, but that his sense of conjugal fidelity always led him to reject the proposal. In despair, Nur Mahal gave her daughter to Shahriyar.

It was political expediency that chiefly determined the zigzag course of these intrigues and revolutions but a minor influence was supplied by the religious factor.

The religious factor.

True to his training, Khusrau always stood for perfect religious equality. As years rolled on, Shah Jahan, early impressed by Sunni dogma, moved further and further towards orthodoxy and found himself, somewhat estranged from his Shia associates. Nur Jahan, never a bigot but still a Shia, leaned more and more on Shia support. The Persian interest saw its influence threatened by the rising Sunni party of Shah Jahan. At long last the Sunnis beheld a prospect of predominance. Such an atmosphere favoured the growth of misunderstandings, ill-feeling and bickerings. The breach widened every day and at last fatally sundered the old alliance

The court was now divided into three partise clustering round three princes, Khusrau, Shah Jahan, and Shahriyar.

New parties.

The guiding thread of the last seven years of Jahangir's reign is supplied by Nur Jahan's attempt to clear the path for her candidate. Her choice proved unfortunate in so far as it alienated the sympathies of all right-minded men. No one could feel any affection, esteem, or enthusiasm for so worthless a specimen of humanity as Shahriyar, but she persisted in her designs. She removed obstacle after obstacle from her path; she crushed rival after rival though her efforts came to nothing at the end.

The first open indication of the new shuffling of political parties was given in December, 1620, when Shahriyar was betrothed to Ladili Begam, daughter of Nur Jahan, by Sher Afkun.

Shahriyar is betrothed to Ladili Begam.

At Lahore, which had been beautified with new buildings for Jahangir's return from Kashmir, the ceremony was performed with the usual grandeur and magnificence. The emperor gave a dowry of a lakh rupees and graced the entertainments with

The only element of truth in these rumours was that Nur Jahan may once have thought of alliance with Khusrau's party but it is certain that she never proceeded far with it.

his presence. In April next the nuptials were celebrated at Agra with dazzling pomp and ceremony. The emperor and his harem repaired to the house of the bride's grandfather, Itimad-ud-daulah. As the irony of fate would have it, Jahangir recorded his hope that the marriage 'would be propitious to this ever-increasing State.' About the same time, Shahriyar was raised to the rank of 8,000 zat and 4,000 suwar and loaded with presents and honours.[7]

Married.

In the hazardous enterprise on which she now embarked, Nur Jahan had the misfortune to lose the ripe counsel and restraining influence of her parents. Her mother, Asmat Begam, breathed her last in 1621.[8] Her death was a stunning blow to her aged, devoted husband. Neither his sons, nor his daughter, nor his son-in-law could soothe his bleeding heart. He sank from day to day. In the winter of 1621-2 he was taken by Jahangir and Nur Jahan on their northern tour, but he fell ill at Bahlwan on the way. The royal pair started on a visit to Kangara, but were recalled next day by the intelligence that the old man's illness had taken a very dangerous turn and that he was despaired of. The same evening they stood by his bed-side. His mind was wandering and often sank into coma. Nur Jahan pointed at her husband and asked, 'Do you recognize him?' The dying man replied by a quotation from Anwari:—

Death of Nur-Jahan's mother, 1621.

> Were a mother-born blind man present
> He'd recognize Majesty in the World-Adorner.

Within a few hours, all was over.[9]

[7] Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 183, 187-8, 197, 199, 202, 203.
Iqbalnama, 171.
[8] Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 216.
[9] Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 221-3. Iqbalnama, 187-8. K. K., I. 325. Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh, 469.
Gladwin, 55.
Blochmann, 509.
For Jahangir's visit to Kangara, see also, English Factories in India, 1622-3, pp. 44, 53, 91, 94.

So passed away one of the most remarkable personages of the age. From a penniless, homeless adventurer he had risen to the first place in the most magnificent empire of the world and left a name for sagacity and learning. His body was conveyed to Agra by his son, Itiqad Khan, and interred in his garden across the Jumna. Legend has it that Nur Jahan proposed the erection of a mausoleum of pure silver, but was persuaded to adopt the more durable marble. The building which still stands and bears his name was completed in 1628 at an enormous expense.

Death of Itimad-ud-daulah. January, 1622.

'It is situated,' writes the famous art-critic Fergusson, 'on the left bank of the river, in the midst of a garden surrounded by a wall measuring 540 feet on each side. In the centre of this, on a raised platform, stands the tomb itself, a square measuring 69 feet on each side. It is two storeys in height, and at each angle is an octagonal tower, surmounted by an open pavilion. The towers, however, are rather squat in proportion, and the general design of the building very far from being so pleasing as that of many less pretentious tombs in the neighbourhood. Had it, indeed, been built in red sandstone, or even with an inlay of white marble like that of Humayun, it would not have attracted much attention. Its real merit consists in being wholly in white marble, and being covered throughout with a mosaic in "pietra dura"—the first, apparently and certainly one of the most splendid examples of that class of ornamentation in India....

Tomb of Itimad-ud-daulah.

'As one of the first, the tomb of Itimad-ud-daulah was certainly one of the least successful specimens of its class (art of inlaying marble). The patterns do not quite fit the places where they are put, and the spaces are not always those best suited for this style of decoration. But, on the other hand, the beautiful tracery of the pierced marble slabs of its windows, which resemble those of Salim Chisti's tomb at Fathpur Sikri, the beauty of its white marble walls, and the rich colour of its

decorations, make up so beautiful a whole, that it is only on comparing it with the works of Shah Jahan that we are justified in finding fault.'[10]

Itimad-ud-daulah's dignities, drums and orchestra, authority and jagirs, were awarded to Nur Jahan. If she could be admitted to the order of mansabdars she would have held the rank of 30,000.

The break up of the junta.

The junta which had ruled the empire well and wisely on the whole for over a decade was now finally broken up. Itimad-ud-daulah was no more. Nur Jahan and Shah Jahan were deadly foes. Asaf Khan sympathized at heart with his son-in-law and was averse to the rise of his ambitious sister's son-in-law. But he hid his feeling lest they should do him harm. He continued ostensibly on the side of the emperor and the empress, and reserved himself for the final stroke to the latter's ambitions.

10 Fergusson's History of Eastern and Inidan Architecture, Vol. II, pp. 306-7.
Abdul Latif's Agra, 182–4.
Keene's Agra.
Murray's Handbook for Bengal (ed. 1882), pp. 294-5.

APPENDICES TO CHAPTER XIV

I

Jahangir's march from Agra to Kashmir

Ilahi Era	Day	Stage
Shahriwar		
13	Thursday ..	Nur Manzil.
13 –16	....	Stays at Nur Manzil.
Aban		
1	Thursday	Sikandara.
3	....	The next stage.
8	Thursday ..	Brindaban.
Azar		
16	Sunday ..	Marches from Delhi.
21	Friday ..	Pargana of Kairana.
5	Thursday ..	Marches from Akbarpur.

Up to this place there had been 34 marches and 17 halts. Altogether Jahangir took 70 days.

5—11	Thursday-Wednesday ..	Continuous Marches.
Bahman		
3	Thursday ..	Kalanur.
28	Monday ..	Karohi on the Jhelam bank.
Isfandarmuz		
4	Saturday ..	Rohtas.
14	Tuesday ..	Hasan Abdal.

From Akbarpur to Hasan Abdal it was 178 kos and took Jaahngir in all 69 days. 48 of which were spent in marches and 21 in halts.

14—16	....	Stays at Hasan Abdal.
17	Friday ..	Sultanpur
18	Saturday ..	Sanji.
19	Sunday ..	Naushabra.
20	Monday ..	Salhar.
21	Tuesday ..	Malgalli.
24	Friday ..	Sawadnagar.
27	Wednesday ..	Crosser the Nainsukh.
30	Thursday ..	Halts at the Kishanganga.
Farwardin		
2	Saturday ..	Bakkar.
3	Sunday ..	Musran.
4	Monday ..	Bhulbas.
6	Wednesday ..	Riwan
7	Thursday ..	Wachaha.
8	Friday ..	Baltar.
9	Saturday ..	Crosses the Jhelam at Baramula.
10	Sunday ..	Shikabuddinpur.
11	Monday ..	The bank of the Dal lake.

From Hasan Abdal to Kashmir it was 75 kos and was accomplished in 19 marches and 6 halts—in all 25 days.

'From Agra to Kashmir, in the space of 168 days, a distance of 376 kos, was traversed in 102 marches and 63 halts. By land and the ordinary route is 304½ kos.'

II

Jahangir's return march from Kashmir to Agra

For Jahangir's journey to and from Kashmir see the Map in Temple's Journal, Vol. II.

Ilahi Era	Day	Stage
Mihr		
27	Monday ..	Leaves Srinagar and encamps at Pampur.
Aban		
1	Friday ..	Khanpur.
2	Saturday ..	Kalampur.
4	Monday ..	Pirpanjal.
5	Tuesday ..	Poshana.
6	Wednesday ..	Bahramgulla.
7	Thursday ..	Thana.
8	Friday ..	Rajaur.
10	Sunday ..	Naushahra.[1]
11	Monday ..	Chauki Hatti.[1]
12	Tuesday ..	Bhimbar.

[1] Here is probably a mistake. Chauki Hatti or Changiz Sarai, as it is called at present, ought perhaps to come before Naushahra. Compare the stages of Jahangir's journey with those of present-day tourists as given by Temple in his Journals II, pp. 1-2.

16	Saturday ..	Marches towards Girjhak.
16—21	Saturday-Thursday ..	Encamps at Girjhak on the bank of the Bihat.
25	Monday ..	Hunts in the hunting ground of Makhyala.
25 Aban to 5 Azar	Monday-Thursday ..	Marches.
Azar		
5	Thursday ..	Jahangirabad.
6	Friday ..	Garden of Munim Isqbaz
9	Monday (Nov. 20, 1620) ..	Enters Lahore.
9—20	......	Stays at Lahore (of all).
..	4 days ..	Stay of Jahangir.
21	Sunday ..	The advance camp leaves Lahore.
Day		
4	......	Jahangir leaves Lahore and and encamps at Naushahra.
6	......	Bank of Raja Todar Mal's tank.
6—10	......	Stays at the tank.
13	......	Bank of the river Govindwal.
13—17	......	Halts.

Jahangir's return march from Kashmir to Agra—contd.

Ilahi Era	Day	Stage
Day		
21	....	Nursaray.
21—3	....	Halts.
Bahman		
1	Thursday ..	Outside Sirhind.
7	....	Neighbourhood of the town of Mustafabad.
8	....	Akbarpur.
8—13	....	Marches.
13	....	Pargana of Kirana.
..	....	Delhi.
21-22	Thursday ..	Halts at Salungarh.
23	....	Tha bank of the Shanise tank.
22—30	....	Hunting, etc., in the neighbourhood of Salungarh.
Isfandarmuz		
1	Saturday ..	Marches from Salungarh.
3—9	....	Brindaban.
10	....	Gokul.
11	....	Nur Afghan garden.
11—13	....	Halts at the garden.
14	....	Agra.

The journey from Lahore to Agra took 70 days (49 marches and 21 halts). Text (Pt. II, p. 197) wrongly has two months and two days as the duration of the journey.

CHAPTER XV

THE DECCAN AGAIN—SULTAN KHUSRAU'S DEATH

No sooner had Jahangir and Shah Jahan turned their backs on the Deccan than the affairs on the border resumed their usual course. The Mughal captains fell into mutual wrangles and recriminations. Malik Ambar formed a league with Bijapur and Golconda, called up his Maratha bands, and mustered 60,000 troops in all. In 1620 he broke the treaty which force had imposed upon him two years before but which had left his strength unimpaired. He had bowed before the storm but he raised his head again. He chose his moment well and carried all before him. Khanjar Khan was driven into the fortress to stand a siege. The other Mughal commanders retreated to join Darab Khan, hotly pursued by the Maratha horse. Three pitched battles were fought; the Imperialists were uniformly victorious, but such victories availed little against such a foe. One Mughal post after another was captured till, within three months of the outbreak of hostilities, the major part of Mughal Ahmednagar and Berar was in the hands of its old masters. The Imperialists retreated down the pass of Rohangarh and congregated at Balapur, only to discover that they were hardly anywhere safe from the ubiquitous foe. The neighbourhood of Balapur was systematically ravaged and devastated. The Imperialists retreated a little, contrived a pitched battle, inflicted a severe defeat on a far larger Deccani force, and plundered the hostile camp. But no sooner did they advance towards their cantonments than they were assailed on all sides. It was only after the loss of several hundred men that they regained their camp. Balapur was now subjected to all the miseries of a siege. Danger and privations led to numerous desertions. The ever-increasing strength of the enemy and the despair of relief decided the Imperialists to retreat northward into the fortress of Burhanpur. The Deccanis gave chase, laid siege to Burhanpur itself, and wasted the whole territory round.

Mughal reverses.

But the surrounding country passed into the hands of the enemy who crossed the Narbada and plundered the environs of Mandu itself. But for the immense provisions already in store, the Imperialists would have been quickly starved into surrender. As it was, they sustained a siege of six months till relief came from the north.[1]

Shah Jahan commanded to march to the Deccan.

The Khan Khana had repeatedly applied to the head-quarters for urgent reinforcement. Jahangir commissioned Shah Jahan to lead his forces to the south, but many of his men were engaged in the siege of Kangara. Even after the fall of that frot-ress, his misgivings about the political situation led him to postpone his departure.

The crisis was pressing, but he refused to march until his elder brother Khusrau was made over to him. He knew his strength; he was one of the greatest commanders in the empire; he was more thoroughly conversant with the Deccan than any one else; his name and prestige were essential to restore the morale of the Imperialists and to strike terror into the enemy's heart. He knew his danger as well; his absence in the Deccan would furnish his political opponents with a golden opportunity to cut the ground from beneath his feet. He could not absolutely refuse to march: that would have been tantamount to open revolt. But he was at least determined to take one of his rivals as a hostage with him. Khusrau still had supporters among the older nobility; he was intensely popular with the people at large. Nor was he a fool like Shahriyar. If Jahangir's delicate health gave way, Khusrau might well be proclaimed emperor. Moreover, it was by no means impossible that Nur Jahan might enter into a temporary alliance with him. As we have seen, rumours of such an alliance had been afloat for the last four years.

1 Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 155–7, 188-90, 206.
Iqbalnama, 181.
K. K., I. 314.
English Factories in India, 1618–21, pp. 207, 210, 211, 217, 287, 333, with special reference to the dislocation of trade by the war.
Gladwin, 50–52.

Jahangir must have been profoundly unwilling to hand over his eldest son to the tender mercies of his rival, but Nur Jahan may have looked with complacency on a move which might lead to the destruction of one of her rivals at the hands of another. The gravity of the Deccan situation at length decided Jahangir to comply with Shah Jahan's demand. Had Sir T. Roe prolonged his stay at the Mughal court, we might have learnt how lamentaion and wailing filled the Imperial harem and what a consternation prevailed among the nobles and the people.

Takes Khusrau with him.

At Lahore Shah Jahan took leave of his father. The two were not destined to meet again.

At the head of 1,000 ahadis, 1,000 Turkish musketeers, 5,000 matchlock men, 650 mansabdars and their thousands of retainers, and a large train of artillery and elephants, the prince advanced to the south. At Ujjain he detached 5,000 cavalry under Madarul Mahamm Khwaja Abul Hasan and another force under Bairam Beg, to dispose of the Marathas round Mandu. Reinforced by part of the Mandu garrison, the detachment drove the Marathas, pursued them with heavy slaughter across the Narbada, and, in obedience to Shah Jahan's command, encamped on the south bank. The prince soon came up with the main force and marched rapidly towards Burhanpur. The Deccanis, frightened and overawed, raised the siege and retreated southward. Shah Jahan allowed nine days to the hard-pressed garrison and his wearied soldiers to refresh themselves, and then resumed his march at the head of 40,000 troops.

Operations commenced, 1620-21.

The Deccanis took to flight but were pursued as far as Khirki, the new capital of the Ahmednagar kingdom. The Nizamshahi king and his family would have fallen into Shah Jahan's hands, had not the ever-watchful and circumspect Malik Ambar taken the precaution of removing them to the fort of Daulatabad just the previous night.

At Khirki the Imperialists halted for three days and utterly demolished the city with all its beautiful buildings raised during the previous twenty years. Thence they marched to

the relief of Ahmednagar where Khanjar Khan, though hard pressed for supplies, still bravely held out. They had reached as far as Patan when Malik Ambar, who was now encamped at Daulatabad with the fort at his back and marshes in his front, offered submission. Shah Jahan was, for political reasons, anxious to finish the war at the earliest favourable moment. Besides, his army had consumed the bulk of the supplies taken at Burhanpur, and, thanks to the devastation of the country, had begun to feel the pinch of hunger. About the same time news was received that the Deccanis had been frightened into raising the siege of Ahmednagar.

Shah Jahan, accordingly, consented to conclude peace and to let off the enemy with comparatively light terms—all the Imperial territory recently seized by the Deccanis during the previous two years, together with fourteen kos of the adjoining territory was to be ceded to the Mughals. Fifty lakhs of rupees were to be paid as tribute,—eighteen lakhs by Bijapur, twelve lakhs by Ahmednagar, and twenty lakhs by Golconda. A reinforcing detachment and a sum of money were sent to Khanjar Khan. After the rains were over, the prince marched back to Burhanpur.[2]

Peace.

The glorious settlement of the Deccan problem brought about within six months naturally enhanced Shah Jahan's dignity and prestige, but from the very nature of the circumstances there could be no hope of a lasting peace. The Deccanis had once more bent under the storm but had not broken. The Mughals could not be expected to relinquish their aggressive designs on the peninsula, nor could the Deccanis be expected to give up their freedom without severe struggles. The rise of the Marathas had brought in a new force and nobody could predict how it would act on the already complicated situation.

For the time being, however, there was jubilation in the victors' camp and country. Afzal Khan, Shah Jahan's diwan,

[2] Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 190-1, 206–8. Iqbalnama, 182–4. K. K., I. 314. Maasir-i-Jahangiri (Khuda Bakhsh MS.), p. 150 (*b*), seq. Gladwin, 53-4.

who brought the news of his master's achievements to the emperor, was rewarded with a dress of honour, an elephnat, an inkpot and a jewelled pen. Khanjar Khan was riased to 4,000 zat and 1,000 suwar. Thirty-two other officers received promotion and dresses of honour. Khwaja Abul Hasan was in a few months appointed supreme diwan. To Shah Jahan himself was sent the precious ruby plume which the emperor had received from the Shah of Persia and a splendid horse named Rum Ratan, presented by the same potentate out of the Turkish spoils.[3]

News of Shah Jahan's success, 1621.

The next few months were spent by the prince in the Deccan, in reorganizing the territory which had, of late, suffered so grievously at the enemy's hands and in consolidating his own power.

It was here that he received the news of Jahangir's dangerous illness in August, 1621. Shortly after he did to death his elder brother Sultan Khusrau at Burhanpur, kept the fact secret for a while, and then announced to the emperor that he had died of colic.[4]

[3] Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 208–11, 228.

For a description of the ruby plume, see Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 195–6 and Iqbalnama, p. 178.

[4] Jahangir (R. and B., II. 228) only states that 'at this time (that is, between the 4th and 19th Isfandarmuz) a report came from Khurram that Khusrau, on the 20th of the month (not the 8th as in the printed text of the Tuzuk) had died of the disease of colic pains.' Iqbalnama, page 191, makes exactly the same statement. Neither specifies the month of the incident. Beveridge (R. and B., II. 228) suggests that the month is Bahman, that preceding Isfandarmuz. Bahman 20, 1622, corresponds (as Beveridge converts it) to January 29, 1622, O.S.

The Burhanpur letter dated February 5, in the records of the East India Company, referred to by Mr. Beveridge on the authority of Mr. Edward Foster (J. R. A. S., 1907, page 602), speaks of Khusrau's death as a recent event. This, however, is hardly inconsistent with the supposition that the event occureed two or three months before.

I do not agree with Mr. Beveridge's contention (J. R. A. S., 1907, page 599) 'that there is no evidence worthy of the name that Khusrau was poisoned or strangled.' Nothing can be inferred from the silence of Jahangir and Motamad Khan. The former would hardly mention a deed for which ultimately he must be held partly responsible. The latter was a courtier of Shah Jahan. Khafi Khan, who had access to sources of information now lost to us, asserts that Shah Jahan murdered Khusrau. There is absolutely no reason to suppose that he was prejudiced against Shah Jahan and ready to believe unfounded gossip against him.

Thus passed away one of the most pathetic figures of the age. The popular imagination invested him with all the vir-

The Maasir-i-Qutb Shahi (as quoted by Beale in his Oriental Biographical Dictionary, page 220) also states that Khusrau was strangled by a man named Raza by order of Shah Jahan.

Contemporary public opinion unanimously believed Shah Jahan guilty of Khusrau's murder. Thus De Laet's account (as summarized by V. A. Smith in his Oxford History of India, page 385) is to the following effect:—

'Shah Jahan, then residing at Burhanpur, sought to remove his brother without scandal. Having arranged a plan with the connivance of the Khan Khanan and other nobles, he went off on a hunting expedition so as to be out of the way. Raza, the slave appointed to the duty, knocked at the prince's door at an unreasonable hour of the night, pretending to have brought robes of honour and written orders for liberation from the emperor. When the prince refused to open his door, it was forced and he was strangled. The door was then closed and the body was left as it lay. His faithful and dearly loved wife, when she found him in the morning, raised a terrible outcry. Shah Jahan sent off a false report, carefully attested by the signatures of his courtiers, but Nuruddin Quli gave the emperor correct information. Jahangir professed to feel intense sorrow.'

A letter of an English factor Nicholas Bangham at Burhanpur to the Surat Factory, dated February 5, 1622, speaks of 'the sudden troubles that have happened by the death of Sultan Khusrau whereof here go many reports, Khurram being, and was then, a-hunting some cos off.' (English Factories in India, 1622-3, p. 30.)

Another letter, dated February 23, 1622, reports a rumour that 'the king hath sent for him and Hakim Alimuddin and Bikramajit about the death of his son Khusrau. Many uncertain reports go, this prince not being dismayed in the world's eyes.' (*Ibid.*, p. 41.)

A letter of Robert Hughes and Jhon Parker at Agra to the Surat Factory, dated February 23, 1622, speaks plainly of 'the late murder of Sultan Khusrau which has bred some hubbub as well there as here in Agra.' (*Ibid.*, p. 44.)

William Methold, Matthew Duke, and Francis Futler at Masulipatam, writing to the Surat Factory, March 10, 1622, state that 'the newest news here is that Sultan Khurram hath slain (his eldest) brother, but after what manner we know as little as of ...... (*Ibid.*, p. 59.)

Thomas Rastell, Giles James, and Joseph Hopkinson thus conclude a letter from Surat to the President and council of Batavia, dated March 17, 1622:—

'To all these causes unexpected may well be added the doubtful events and revolts which may succeed in this country by the death of the king's eldest son, who, in absence of the king, remote in his progress, was strangled in Burhanpur by Khurram, his brother.' (*Ibid.*, p. 65.)

The Masulipatam Factors, in a letter of June 30, 1622, again refer in terms of righteous indignation to Khusrau's unnatural fratricide. (*Ibid.*, p. 98.)

Nicholas Bangham, writing from Ahmedabad to the Surat Factory on July 3, 1623, also refers in terms of perfect assurance to 'the death of

tues of a man and a prince; he was believed to have restricted himself to one wife, who, in her turn, was painted as the very

his (the king's) murdered son which gave him much distaste.' (*Ibid.*, pp. 244-5.)

P. Della Valle, writing in 1623, says, evidently on the authority of popular report, as follows:—

'When he (Khurram) had got him (Khusrau) into his hands he went to his government, and there kept and treated him honourably a year or two; but afterwards, out of the intention which he always had to remove him out of his way to the succession of the kingdom, he being absent (as some say) sent him poisoned meats, appointing certain of his captains who kept him to make him eat those meats by any means, fair or foul. The captains punctually executed this order; but because Sultan Khusrau, becoming suspicious by their importunity to have him eat, would by no means taste of those meals, saying plainly that they intended to poison him, the captains, since there was no other remedy, and perhaps having order, leaped all upon him, and he defended himself bravely, till at length having felled him on the ground they strangled him with a bow string. Others say that Sultan Khurram himself slew him with his own hand publicly. Be it as it will, Sultan Khusrau died of a violent death, and Sultan Khurram was either by himself, or by mediation of others, the murderer.' (Della Valle, I. p. 58).

Peter Mundy (Travels II. pp. 104-5) wrote as follows in 1632:—

'At Burhanpur he had a room allowed him, a waterman, a porter and a maid-servant or hashmatgir (female servant) to attend him and dress his meat. Finally by Sultan Khurram's (his brother's) command he was made away, the instruments Raza Bahadur, etc., who coming to his lodging, first killed the porter for denying entrance, and violently rushed in upon him as he was reading his muzaffe, who first with an Aftaha (ewer) slew one of the assailants, but being overlaid (overpowered) was by them with a string most miserably strangled. And this was the end of Sultan Khusrau, eldest son to Jahangir. He never used but his own wife, by whom he had a son called Bulaqi. He was much beloved of the people (while) living, and as much lamented being dead.'

Terry (p. 412) asserts plainly that Khurram 'strangled that most gallant prince, his brother.' Pelsart (Tran. p. 18) writes in 1627, 'Sultan Khusrau was assassinated by his brother Sultan Khurram in the year 1621'.

Herbert, probably on the authority of De Laet, gives a detailed account of the murder, stating that Shah Jahan's absence was a part of the plot according to which the Khan Khana got 'Raza or Rajea Bandor' to strangle Khusrau at night. (Some Years' Travels, 1638, p. 80.)

Maasir-i-Qutb Shahi quoted by Beale in his Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p. 220, supports this version.

The contemporary German traveller, Von Poser, also refers in explicit terms to Khurram's 'fratricide of Khusrau' (quoted by Irvine in J. R. A. S., 1910, p. 949).

Last but not least, the Rajput chronicles explicitly charge Shah Jahan with murdering Khusrau. On the 12th of the dark fortnight of Phalguna of the same samvat 1678, at night, in Burhanpur, says the Phalodhi Khyat, 'Prince (Khurram) killed Prince-Khusrau who was in prison. Information (of this fact) reached the emperor and the emperor was displeased.'

perfection of feminine grace and devotion and the very incarnation of self-effacement.[5]

It was even widely believed that Jahangir was sincerely attached to Khusrau and had in his heart of hearts determined to nominate him to the throne. His reign, it was hoped and predicted, would prove a golden era of peace and prosperity. It is not, therefore, to be wondered that his death not only excited deep sympathy and sorrow but caused something like a consternation over the empire. For the moment all eyes were turned to the emperor to see if he would inflict any chastisement on the murderers.

Translations by L. P. Tessitori in the course of his article 'Bardic and Historical Survey of Rajputana.' J. A. S. B., New Series, Vol. XV, 1919, No. 1, p. 59.

It is clear that Shah Jahan successfully plotted Khusrau's death, though he sought to conceal his own share by going a hunting at a distance from Burhanpur on the fateful day and announcing that the prince had died of colic; that Jahangir, all the same, did receive correct information about the incident and was highly displeased for the time being; and that the public was never in any doubt as to the realities of the case.

Aurangzeb, in one of his letters to Shah Jahan during the latter's captivity, expressly reminds him of his murder of Khusrau and Parvez. (Sarkar's History of Aurangzeb, III. 155).

Elphinstone's remark that 'we ought not too readily to believe that a life not sullied by any other crime could be stained by one of so deep a dye' hardly constitutes an argument in Shah Jahan's favour. On his father's death, even before his formal accession to the throne, 'Shah Jahan sent a farman to Yaminuddaula Asaf Khan to the effect that it would be well if Dawar Bakhsh, the son, and (Shahriyar) the useless brother (ناشدنی) of Khusrau and the sons of Prince Daniyal were all sent out of the world.' Iqbalnama p. 300. (E. and D., VI. 438). Also Padshahnama, I. p. 303, or any other history of Shah Jahan's reign.

He, who in full security of power considered the boy Dawar Bakhsh too dangerous to be permitted to live at all, could not be expected in times of uncertainty to feel compassion for the man who was really dangerous to him.

5 Della Valle (I. pp. 56-7), speaking of the alleged offers of Nur Jahan to Khusrau to marry her daughter, writes '.... Whilst he was in prison and was told by reiterated messages that if he would marry Nur Mahal's daughter he should be immediately set free, nevertheless he would not be brought to do it. His wife on the contrary, who loved him as well as he loved her, obtained to be the person allotted to serve him in the prison and accordingly went thither, and lived with him so long as he was there, never ceasing to persuade him to marry Nur Mahal's daughter, that so he might be delivered from those troubles; that for her part she was content to live with him as a slave, provided she saw him free and in a good condition; but he could never be prevailed with.'

Jahangir, however, professed to believe Shah Jahan's version of Khusrau's death from colic and forebore to take any public measures, but there can be no doubt that he was profoundly indignant at the deed and that Nur Jahan fully utilized the golden opportunity to add fuel to the fire. From this point of view the bloody deed was not only a crime but a blunder. The infamy of it clung to Shah Jahan all his life.

The last remains of Khusrau.

Sultan Khusrau's body was hastily buried at Burhanpur. A few months later in May, 1622, according to Jahangir's orders, his remains were disinterred[6] and despatched to Agra which they reached on June 20, 1622.[7] Thence they were carried to Allahabad[8] to be finally deposited by the side of his mother's mausoleum in the garden at Khuldabad. Memorials, comprising little gardens and cottages and models of the tomb, were set up on the spots where the body had rested on he way. 'At each of these monuments', wrote Pelsart in 1627, 'a number of faqirs established themselves and imposed on the people the belief that God had appeared to them in a dream and had ordained them to give certain exhortations to those who consulted them. By this practice they acquired large sums.'[9]

The Khusrau Bagh, as the depository of the prince's remains is called, stands to this day in the quarter known as

6 Nicholas Bangham and Justiman Offley write from Burhanpur to the Surat Factory under May 9, 1622:—'Sultan Khusrau is taken out of his grave (and carried to) Delhi, being so ordered by the King.' (The English Factories in India, 1622-3, p. 79.) Delhi is a mistake for Agra. Peter Mundy (II. 105) also says that Khusrau's body was 'brought from Burhanpur to Agra.'

7 Under this date the Agra factor Robert Hughes writes to the Surat Factory:—'This day is here arrived Sultan Khusrau's lahoot (coffin) from Burhanpur which to-morrow is to be dispeeded to H (eloliass, that is Allahabad) there to be interred by his mother.' (English Factories, 1622-3, p. 94.)

8 Mundy (II. pp. 105-6) reproduces a vulgar tradition that Khusrau was actually interred at Agra and was honoured by the common people as a saint, so that Nur Mahal, who always hated him alive, could not endure that such honour should be done him dead, soliciated the King in such manner that he was again removed thence to Moordeabad or Cazrooabad, of course from Ellahabaz.

9 Pelsart, trans. p. 18. Also Peter Mundy, II. 106.

Khuldabad at a stone's throw from the East Indian Railway Station, nearly a mile distant from the city. The spacious garden is enclosed by a wall built by Jahangir with the surplus of materials for the Allahabad Fort.[10]

The Khusrau Bagh.

Close by was a serai—now a fish-market—which even in its dilapidated condition in 1825 was described by Bishop Heber as 'a noble quadrangle with four fine Gothic gateways, surrounded within an embattled wall by a range of cloisters for the accommodation of travellers.'

The Serai described.

'Adjoining the serai,' continues the same high authority, 'is a neglected garden, planted with fine old mango trees, in which are three beautiful tombs raised over two princes and a princess (?) of the imperial family. Each consists of a large terrace with vaulted apartments beneath it, in the central one of which is a tomb like a stone coffin, richly carved. Above is a very lofty circular apartment, covered by a dome richly painted within, and without carved yet more beautifully. All these are very solemn and striking, rich but not florid or gaudy, and completely giving the lie to the notion common in England which regards all eastern architecture in bad taste and barbarous.'[11]

The Garden.

Close to the garden itself was 'a fair baoli or well with 120 and odd steps with fair galleries and arches and chow trees (summer houses) to set in fresco (in the fresh air) within side, all the way down being spacious, easy and lightsome so that a little child may go down and drink with his hand. Right over the place,' continues Peter Mundy,' 'where the water lies, is a fair mouth of a well, from whence they draw water with pots, oxen or otherwise.'[12]

The Baoli.

[10] Beale, Miftahut Tawarikh, quoted by Beveridge in J.R.A.S., 1907, p. 608, No. 2.

[11] Heber's Journal, I. 443.

[12] Mundy, II. 101.

Murray's Handbook for Bengal, p. 364.

Shah Begam's tomb.

Shah Begam's tomb stands towards the western side of the garden. The building in the middle of the garden opposite the beautiful gate represents Khusrau's sister Sultanunnisa Begam's tomb, which she began to erect during her lifetime in the year 1625, but which was not complete in 1632 when Peter Mundy saw it.[13] The princess, however, died and was buried elsewhere so that the tomb is empty.[14]

Sultanunnisa Begam's tomb.

Empty.

Khusrau's tomb.

Towards the eastern side, close to where the present municipal waterworks machinery and filter-beds are situated, stands the principal and most magnificent of all buildings in the garden—Sultan Khusrau's tomb. In 1632 Mundy found it 'railed about on the top with wood inlaid with mother-of-pearl with a velvet shamiana or canopy over it. At his head is his turban and by him his Muzaffe (Al mus haf—the Book, that is the *Koran*) or book of his law wherein,' adds the credulous traveller, 'he was reading when they came to murder him.'[15]

The Inscription.

But a plain large white tomb is all that the visitor sees to-day. One may still read and muse over the pathetic Persian inscription thereon bearing the date 1031 A.H. (1622 A.D.).[16]

13 Peter Mundy (II. p. 100). He states that the tomb was 'new begun,' but this is incorrect as the chronogram روضۂ پاک, on the tomb gives the date 1034 A.H.=1625 A.D.

14 Beale, Miftahut Tawarikh, p. 355.

On the walls of the edifice there are, as usual with Muslim sepulchres, a fairly large number of verses some of which have distappeared from the wear and tear of time.

Beveridge (J.R.A.S., 1907, p. 619) has reproduced the inscriptions, but owing to the copyist's fault, with several mistakes which are corrected by R. P. Dewhurst in J.R.A.S., July, 1909, pp. 746—9.

15 Peter Mundy, II. 100.

16 See Beveridge, J.R.A.S., 1907, pp. 605-6.

Dewhurst, J.R.A.S., 1909, pp. 746—9. Besides the three mausoleums noticed here, the garden contains a fourth structure, called Tambolan's tomb, which was long used as a residence in the nineteenth century but which was restored by the order of Lord Curzon.

Khusrau had gone into everlasting peace, but the empire over which he had once hoped to reign was torn more than ever by faction and intrigue. Nur Jahan schemed with restless activity and sought the utter ruin of Shah Jahan. She had not long to wait for an opportunity. Qandahar was besieged and taken by the Persians. If Shah Jahan were commanded to lead an expedition thither, he would, in case of compliance, be separated from the base of his power and thrown on a difficult, almost hopeless, enterprise likely to last long and to ruin his prestige and reputation. On the other hand, if he elected to disobey, he could be represented as arrogant and seditious, could easily be be driven into actual revolt, and then crushed for ever.

Nur Jahan's opportunity.

CHAPTER XVI

QANDAHAR—THE OUTBREAK OF SHAH JAHAN'S REVOLT

THOUGH foiled in 1606, the Persians did not relinquish their designs on Qandahar. The fortress, however, was so strong, so well garrisoned and provisioned, that an assault was long out of the question. Shah Abbas attempted to corrupt the Mughal commandant, Mirza Ghazi Beg, but he refused to play the part of his Persian predecessor.[1] Shah Abbas now spread wide the net of his diplomacy and sought to lull the suspicions and win the confidence of Jahangir. Early in 1611 he despatched an ambassador, Yadgar Ali, who reached the Mughal court in April and presented the animate and inanimate offerings of his master and a letter, replete with condolences on the death of Akbar and congratulations on the accession of Jahangir, couched in pompous language and inflated style, overflowing with that fulsome adulation which passed for courtesy in that age.[2]

Persian Embassy in 1611.

[1] M. U. (Beveridge), I. 582-3.
Mirza Ghazi died in 1609. He was a great patron of learning but, morally, a rake of rakes.

[2] The letter is reproduced in full by the Persian chroniclers.
Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 193—6. Iqbalnama, 48—53. K. K., I. 263. See also Gladwin, p. 22.
It may be permitted to quote one sentence—the second one—from the letter, as translated by Rogers:—
'May the flower-bed of sovereignty and rule and the mead of magnificence and exalted happiness of His Honour of heavenly dignity, of sun-like grandeur, the king whose fortune is young, of Saturn-like majesty, the renowned prince, possessing the authority of the spheres, the Khedive, the world gripper (Jahangir) and country-conquering sovereign, the prince of the exaltedness of Sikandar, with the banner of Darius, he who sits on the throne of the pavilion of greatness and glory, the possessor of the (seven) climes, the increaser of the joys of good fortune and prosperity, adorner of the gardens of happiness, decorator of the rose-parterre, lord of the happy conjunction (of the planets), the opener of the countenance, the perfection of king-hood, expounder of the mysteries of the skies, the adjourment of the face of learning and insight, index of the book of creation, compendiums of human perfections, mirror or the glory of God, elevator of the lofty soul, increaser of good fortune and of the beneficent ascension, sun of the grandeur of the skies, the shadow of the benignity,

Yadgar received an ostentatious reception and resided at the court for two years. When he left at last in 1613 he was honoured by valuable presents and accompanied by a Mughal ambassador, Khan Alam.

Second Persian Embassy.

In March, 1615, arrived the second Persian embassy headed by Mustafa Beg and loaded, as usual, with professions of the warmest love and esteem, with presents of horses and camels, jewels and pearls, rarities from Turkey and Aleppo together with European hounds asked for by Jahangir. The customary exchange of compliments and gifts continued. But all this while it was popularly believed that the Shah of Persia demanded the cession of some western territory and that the outbreak of hostilities was within the range of possibility. Shah Abbas, however, continued to humour Jahangir and present him with rosaries of Yemen cornelian, cups of Venetian workmanship and other gifts, at once trifling and splendid.[3]

On October 19, 1616, the third and most magnificent of all Persian missions, headed by Muhammad Riza Beg, arrived at the court at Ajmere. He was received outside the town by the Imperial officers at the head of a procession of 100 elephants with bands playing, and was conducted to the Imperial quarters with pomp and ceremony such as were reserved for the representatives of Persia alone.[4]

The Embassy of Mohammad Riza Beg 1616-17.

of the Creator, he who has the dignity of Jamshid among the stars of the host of heaven, lord of conjunction, refuge of the world, river of the favours of Allah, and fountain of unending mercy, verdure of the plain of purity may his land (lit. surface) be guarded from the calamity of the evil eye; may his fountain of perfection be preserved in truth, his desire and love; the table of his good qualities and benevolence cannot be written.'

3 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 237-8, 248-9, 282-3, 284, 298, 299, 310.
Iqbalnama, p. 69.
Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh, p. 450.
Letters Received by the East India Company, I. 278.

4 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 336-7.
Iqbalnama, 89-90.
Sir T. Roe, 295—7, 300-1.
Roe thus describes his reception:—
'About noon (he) came into the town with a great troop which were partly sent out by the king to meet him with 100 elephants and music but no man of greater quality than the ordinary receiver of all strangers. His

Shah Abbas's letter, presented to Jahangir on October 28, 1616, contains nothing worth notice. It was widely believed that the object of the embassy was the negotiation of monetary aid for Persia against Turkey or of an amicable settlement between Jahangir and the Shiah rulers of the Deccan who were co-religionists of the Shah. More probably it had something to do with Qandahar. Be that as it may, Muhammad Riza accompanied the court to Mandu and finally took leave only in April, 1617, with ill-concealed chagrin and discontent. He died at Agra on his way home. His chattels and property were duly forwarded by Jahangir through a Persian merchant to his native land.[5]

Two years later the Mughal ambassador Khan Alam returned, loaded with favours, compliments, and presents from

own train were about fifty horse, well fitted in coats of cloth of gold, their bows, quivers and targets richly garnished, forty shot and some 200 ordinary peons and attenders on baggage. He was carried to rest in a room within the king's outward court till evening, when he came to the darbar before the king, to which ceremony I sent my secretary to observe the fashion. When he approached, he made at the first rail three taslims and one sijda....; at the entrance in, the like; and so presented the Shah Abbas's letter, which the king took with a little motion of his body asking only 'How does my brother?' without title of Majesty; and after some few words he was placed in the seventh rank against the rail by the door, below so many of the king's servants on both sides, which in my judgment was a most inferior place for his master's ambassador.'

Muhammad Riza's reception in the Darbar.

He received, as the custom was, 'a handsome turban, a vest of gold and a girdle, for which again he made three taslims and one sijda.'

His own offerings, presented in several batches on several different days,, comprised twenty-seven Persian and Arab horses, 'nine mules very fair and large, seven camels laden with velvet, two suits of European Arras, two chests of Persian hangings, one cabinet rich, forty muskets, five clocks, one camel laden with Persian cloth of gold, eight carpets of silk, two rubies ballast, twenty-one camels of wine of the grape, fourteen camels of distilled sweet waters, seven of rose-waters, seven daggers set with stones, five swords set with stone, seven Venetian looking glasses, but these so fair, so rich that I was ashamed of the relation.'

His presents.

Unlike Roe, he elected to comply with all the obsequious ceremonies of the Mughal court.

[5] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 337, 374, 398.

Roe, 296, 300, 323, 325, 326, 331, 336, 337, 347, 351, 353, 357, 358, 373 374, 400, 405, 409, 422.

the Shah.[6] In December, 1620, arrived his fellow-traveller, Zambil Beg, the fourth Persian ambassador, who had been detained on the way. He brought and received the usual presents and professions of friendship and good will.[7]

The embassy of Zambil Beg, 1620.

Deceived by gifts and professions, the Mughals neglected the defence of Qandahar. Early in 1621 the old governor Bahadur Khan was replaced by the young Abdul Aziz Khan, fresh from the laurels of the Kangara campaign, and a sum of Rs. 2,60,000 was sent for provisions, but the effective garrison was suffered to dwindle to a few hundreds. Taking advantage of the internal squabbles of the Mughal empire, Shah Abbas mustered a large force for the capture of Qandahar. Rumours of the design reached the Mughal court, but it was too busy with high politics to attend to the wants of a distant outpost.[8]

When at last it did wake up, it sought to connect the repulse of a foreign enemy with the ruin of one nearer home. In the middle of March, 1622, Shah Jahan was commanded to march with all his troops to Qandahar. Soon came a despatch from

Shah Abbas besieges Qandahar, 1622.

6 'Of the favour and kindness conferred by my brother on Khan Alam, if I were to write of them in detail, I should be accused of exaggeration. In conversation he always gave him the title of Khan Alam, and never had him out of his presence. If he ever voluntarily strayed in his own quarter, he, (Abbas) would go there without ceremony and show him more and more favour.'

He brought with him, besides rare and beautiful presents from the Shah, an invaluable painting which depicted Timur's fight with Tuqtamish Khan as well as the likenesses of the former's children and amirs, containing altogether 240 figures, with the names of all. The work was signed as that of Khalil Mirza Shahrukha, but would otherwise have been taken for one by the master painter, Ustad Bihzad.

Third Bahman, 1619.

With Khan Alam also returned the imperial painter Bishan Das who had performed with perfect success his task of drawing the likenesses of the Shah and his principal officers of State.

Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 115-17.

7 Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 178, 186-7, 198, 201, 211.

8 Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 230, plainly states that the fort contained 300 or 400 soldiers. Iqbalnama (p. 192) puts the number at 3,000 but these probably include camp-followers.

See also Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 192, 230, 233.

English Factories in India, 1618–21, p. 333.

Khan Jahan, the governor of Multan, that Shah Abbas had actually laid siege to the fort. It was rumoured that he had sent another army to attack Thattah. Now at last Nur Jahan and Jahangir left the pleasant vale of Kashmir and exerted themselves to meet the crisis. It was clear to all that Qandahar would quickly fall and that its recovery would tax the utmost resources of military capacity. Preparations had to be made on a grand scale. Multan was appointed to be the rendezvous of the relieving force. The princes and the mansabdars were commanded to hasten thither with their troops and retainers. Khwaja Abul Hasan, the Diwan, and Sadiq Khan, the Bakhshi, were commissioned to expedite the concentration of force from all directions. Strings of elephants, stores of armours, parks of artillery were collected. An immense amount of treasure was appropriated to the expenses of the campaign.[9] It was proposed to employ a lakh of bullocks of the wandering grain-selling tribes of Banjaras to furnish the supplies.[10]

Mughal preparations.

[9] Jahangir (R. and B.). II. 233-4.
Iqbalnama, 191-2.
K. K., I. 326-7.
English Factories in India, 1622-3, pp. 99, 112.

[10] Jahangir (R. and B. II. 233) has the following notice of the Banjaras:—

'The Banjaras are a tribe. Some of them have 1,000 bullocks, and some more or less. They take grain from different districts and sell it. They go along with the armies, that is, they fromed a sort of commissariat. They rarely used camels.'

The Banjaras.

The European travellers were struck by the long trains of Banjaras which they occasionally came across. Mundy (pp. 95-6) notices that they led a constantly wandering life, carrying their wives and children with them. They dealt mainly in grain but sometimes also in salt, sugar, butter, etc., often at their own account, but sometimes as agents of other merchants. A tanda or Banjara camp comprised 600 or 700 men, women, and children. 'Their men are very lusty, their women hardy, who in occasion of fight lay about them like men.' Tavernier (Ball, I. 39—43) has also a long notice of them substantially identical with that of Mundy. Their long trains were often noticed by the travellers from the seventeenth to nineteenth century. Thus Peter Mundy, under December 14, 1630: 'This day we met with many Banjaras which are great drovers of oxen and buffaloes laden with grains, etc., provision for Burhanpur.' II. p. 54.

Under December 18, 1630. 'This day also we met with many Banjaras or Caphilas of grain, butter, etc., provisions going to the camp

The mobilization naturally occupied a long time. Khan Jahan proposed an immediate march with his men to meet the crisis but he was peremptorily commanded to wait for the grand army which should proceed right up to Isfahan, the capital of Persia.

All these hopes, however, were dashed to the ground. Shah Jahan had forwarded his camp equipage from Burhanpur on March 24, 1622, and himself left soon after, but he practically refused to march further than Mandu. He requested permission to pass the rains in that stronghold. He proposed that when he marched for Qandahar, he should be placed in absolute command of the army with full sway over the Punjab and that he should be assigned the fort of Rantambhor for the safe residence of his family.[11]

Shah Jahan refuses to march to Qandahar.

The reasons which decided Shah Jahan to adopt this recalcitrant attitude are nowhere plainly stated by the contemporary chroniclers but they are not difficult to conjecture. If he must

at Burhanpur where the king lies to prosecute his wars against the Deccan.' (p. 55.)

Under December 22. 'By the way sitting on the top of a little hill, we saw a Banjara (that is, a train of them) and many thousand of oxen laden with provision. It was at least 1½ miles in length, and as many more returning empty to be reladen.' (p. 56.)

Under August 23, 1632. 'In the morning we met a tanda or banjara of oxen, in number 14,000, all laden with grains, as wheat, rice, etc., each ox, one with another, carrying four great maunds, each maund nearly sixteen gallons is 1,12,000 bushels London measure.' (p. 95.)

Again under August 25, 1632. 'This morning we passed by another tanda of oxen in number 20,000 (as themselves said), laden with sugar, of which there could not be less than 50,000 English hundredweight at 2½ cwt. to each ox. The goods lay piled in heaps, by reason of rain, covered with great red pals, of which, in my judgment, there could not be less than 150 which resembled a reasonable lashkar or camp.' (p. 98.)

The '10,000 bullocks in one troop laden with corn,' which Sir T. Roe met with on November 6, 1615, as well as 'the others but less,' which he saw on 'most days,' must have been those of Banjaras.

'It is an astonishing sight to behold caravans numbering 10,000 or 12,000 oxen together, for the transport of rice, corn and salt.' Tavernier, (ed. Ball) I. 39.

11 Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 233-4.
English Factories in India, 1622-3, p. 69.
M. U. (Beveridge), I. 418.
Gladwin, p. 57.

consent to lose his hold on the Deccan where he had consolidated his power, he must have the command of a large force which might enable him to regain his posotion and compensate himself for any possible losses. He knew very well how deficient the Mughals were in the art of sieges. The recovery of Qandahar, one of the strongest forts in the east, held by a strong Persian garrison in the full flush of victory at a time when Afghanistan and the frontier tracts were seething with insurrection, was sure to prove a very long and difficult, probably an impracticable, affair. During his absence Nur Jahan was sure to push her creature Shahriyar to the front and to undermine his own power by replacing his adherents with hers in high offices in State, by playing upon the feelings and fancies of her husband and by taking full advantage of any opportunities which might present themselves in the meanwhile. If Jahangir's rapidly failing health gave way, Nur Jahan was sure to proclaim Shahriyar as emperor and endeavour to enlist the support of the nobles in his favour. Shah Jahan could checkmate these moves only if he was in command of a large force. He could count on the possibility of winning over Mahabat Khan, governor of Kabul, notorious for his hostility to Nur Jahan and her brother, and if he held the Punjab as well, he could command some chances of success. With the choice Imperial troops under his banner and with Afghanistan and the Punjab as sources of supplies and bases of operations, he could accept the challenge of any hostile party in India. Again, like the proud self-confident man that he was, he might have reflected that an army not guided by his own superior judgment might fall before Qandahar, with loss of reputation and prestige to himself. Nur Jahan might set his own plans at nought through the commander-in-chief or might even consciously direct operations so as ruin them or to prolong them indefinitely. Shah Jahan's only resource against such possibilities was the chief command. It had been proposed that after the relief of Qandahar, the Imperialists should rush into Persia to dictate terms at Isfahan. Like Qandahar over again, the enterprise was sure to be long and hazardous and only too

likely to end in defeat and disgrace. It was doubtless such considerations as these that weighed with the Prince in proposing the conditions about the command, the governorship of the Punjab, and the charge of the fort of Rantambhor. Moreover, in order to gain time to set all his affairs in the Deccan in order and do all he could to strengthen his hold there, he requested to be allowed to stay in Mandu till the expiry of the rainy season.

With all his circumspection and adroitness, however, Shah Jahan failed to calculate that Nur Jahan was the last person to be deceived by his proposals and that she could represent them to her husband, whom she now held in intellectual bondage, as arising out of seditious designs. Shah Jahan had for the last few years been a sort of deputy-sovereign. His abilities ambition, and pride were known to all. His power was clearly a source of danger to the stability of the State.[12]

Nur Jahan made dexterous use of the opportunity offered to her. Jahangir was inflamed against the Prince and fully convinced of the necessity of diminishing his power and consideration. In reply to his report he was peremptorily told that as he proposed to come after the rains, he must dispatch the royal officers and forces—especially the Sayyids of Barha and Bukhara, the Shaikh-zadas, the Afghans, and the Rajputs —that is, the very pick of the Empire to court for service in the Qandahar campaign. Kaukab, Khidmatgar Khan, and ten other officers were sent as sazawuls to hasten the departure of the Deccan amirs to the north.

While Shah Jahan still hesitated to comply with the Imperial mandate, there occurred one of those trifling incidents which so often bring matters to a crisis and precipitate the outburst of long pent-up feelings and passions.

Skirmish at Dholpur.

Shah Jahan had some time before applied for the grant of the paragana of Dholpur[13] as a jagir to him and, shortly after,

12 If Roe may be believed, Jahangir had grown distrustful of Shah Jahan's power as early as 1617 *ante* Chs. VIII. and XIV.
13 Ain, Jarrett, II. 96.

in assurance of success, sent a body of men under the Afghan Darya Khan to take charge thereof. Before the latter reached his destination, however, Nur Jahan had obtained the paragana for Shahriyar and stationed Shariful-mulk, an officer in the latter's service, as faujdar there. Accordingly when Darya Khan arrived at the scene, he was opposed by Sharif in arms. A scuffle ensued, in the course of which many men were killed on both sides and Shariful-mulk was wounded in the eye with an arrow.[14]

Jahangir's indignation.

The incident was exploited by Nur Jahan with all her adroit skill. Jahangir was convinced that Shah Jahan 'was unworthy of all the favours and cherishing I bestowed on him' and that his brain had gone wrong. He was severely reprimanded, told hereafter 'to behave properly, and not place his foot beyond the path of reasonableness and the high road of politeness.' He was sternly forbidden the court, and was once more peremptorily commanded to send his officers and troops. 'If anything contrary to this order should come to notice, he would repent it.'

A petty-minded act.

A pettty-minded action of Jahangir well illustrates his mental attitude at this time. Five years before, on the occasion of his infant grandson Shuja's rather dangerous illness, he had vowed, if the child recovered, to renounce sporting with a gun. For five years he observed the vow, but now when the boy's father lost his affection, he not only insisted on revelling in sport himself but also armed all his servants in the palace with guns to practise shooting.[15]

On the first of Shahriwar Shahriyar was raised to 12,000 zat and 8,000 suwar and appointed to the command of the Qandahar expedition with Mirza Rustam as his guardian and the

[14] Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 235-6. Iqbalnama, 193-4. K. K., I. 331. M. U. I. 162-3. Beveridge, I. 149-50.
English Factories in India, 1622-3, p. 99.
Gladwin, p. 58.

[15] Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 236-7.

actual leader. The latter with Itiqad Khan had already been sent to Lahore with Rs. 1,00,000 as advance of pay to assist the military preparations.[16] The next decisive step was taken when some of Shah Jahan's jagirs in the north were transferred to Shahriyar and he himself was told to choose holdings of equal value in the south.[17] Every one could perceive how easily he could be deprived of his possessions in the Deccan when once he had complied with the repeated Imperial demand to send on his troops for the Qandahar service. On the other hand, if he elected to disobey, he could be branded as rebellious and severely chastised.

Shah Jahan deprived of his northern Jagirs.

Alarmed at the turn of affairs and sincerely anxious to placate his father he sent his able and confidential diplomatic officer and diwan, Afzul Khan,[18] with an humble apologetic letter. All his life, he submitted, he had been engaged in dutiful service to the empire. He was sorry that he should have for-

Afzul Khan's embassy.

16 Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 234-5, 236-7. Iqbalnama, 194-5. English Factories in India, 1622-3, p. 94.

17 K. K., I. 330-1. M. U. (Beveridge), I. 150. Gladwin, p. 58.

Iqbalnama (p. 196) says that the order for levying the pay of Shahriyar's soldiers out of Khurram's jagirs, which practically amounted to the transfer of the latter, was given not by Jahangir but by Nur Jahan. This is true of almost all Imperial orders of this period.

18 Mulla Shukrulla Shirazi had been a student and teacher at Shiraz, one of the cultural centres of Persia, and had then migrated to India and joined the Khan Khana's service at Burhanpur. Shortly after he entered into Prince Khurram's services and acted as his secretary during the Mewar campaign of 1613-14. He was associated in the negotiations which resulted in the conclusion of peace with the Rana. In reward for his services he received the title of Afzul Khan. Early in 1622 he headed an embassy to Bijapur. After his unsuccessful mission at the Imperial court, he was commissioned by Shah Jahan to negotiate for support at the Bijapur court. He was universally admired for his eloquence and enjoyed high reputation as a mathematician, accountant and astronomer. In moral character he was irreproachable. Shah Jahan frequently remarked that in twenty-eight years' service he never heard Afzul Khan, censure anyone. See M. U., I. 162-5. (Beveridge), I. 149—53. Padshahnama, II. 339-40. Beale's Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p. 36. His embassies to Bijapur and the Imperial courts are frequently referred to in the English Factories in India, 1622-3, pp. 31, 39, 41, 54, 59, 69.

For his tomb called the Chini ka rouza on the left bank of the Jumna near Agra, see Keene's Guide to Agra.

feited the royal favour without any fault of his own. Jahangir was exhorted to take a more serious view of the situation lest the empire should be injured; to see and manage things for himself and not to rely solely on women. 'It would be a sad thing if there should be any breach in the devotion of this faithful follower.' But if, at Nur Jahan's word, he were deprived of his jagirs, how could he live at all, surrounded as he was by enemies. He suggested ironically that he might as well be turned out of the Deccan and allowed to go to Mecca and turn an ascetic.[19] Jahangir, however, refused to listen to Afzul Khan and dismissed him with the customary dress of honour.[20]

Shah Jahan was now deprived of the rest of his jagirs in the north, including Hisar, the heir-apparent's fief, which were conferred on Shahriyar. Once more he himself was told to choose others equal value in the Deccan. Once more he was commanded to dispatch his officers and troops to court. 'After that he was to look after his own charge, and not depart from order: otherwise he would repent.'[21]

The attitude of Asaf Khan.

During all these negotiations Asaf Khan had observed a prudent silence. He was at heart a partisan to his son-in-law, but could not hope to move his imperious sister from her set pur-

19 K. K., I. 331.
Gladwin, pp. 58-9.
M. U., I. 163. Beveridge, I. 150-1.
Iqbalnama (p. 196) says indeed that Nur Jahan prevented Afzul Khan from interviewing the emperor, but the latter states clearly in his diary that the Diwan waited on him.
Jahangir does not give the contents of the letter, only remarking that 'he had clothed his immoderate acts in the garment of apology, and had sent him with the idea that perhaps he might carry his point by flattery and smooth speeches.' Also K. K., I. 332.

20 Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 23—9.
M. U., I. 163. Beveridge, I. 150-1.
Kamghar and after him Khafi Khan (I. 332), Shah Nawaz Khan, Maasir-ul-umara (Beveridge, I. 151), and Gladwin, p. 59, state that Jahangir was touched by the tone and contents of Shah Jahan's letter and made suggestions (for a reconciliation) to Nur Jahan, but that the latter only became more obdurate and more hostile.
This statement, however, is not supported by Motamad Khan, who throughout his account of Shah Jahan's rebellion, shows himself as friendly to the Prince and as hostile to the Begam as any other chronicler.

21 Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 239.

pose or to bring round the emperor to his views. Nur Jahan distrusted him, but suffered him to remain at court.

Apprehensive of further trouble, the Begam called to her aid the soldier of genius who had hitherto been so hostile to her party. Mahabat Khan had for the last few years been in a sort of exile in Afghanistan and had been allowed no voice in the policy of the empire. His enmity to the powers behind the throne had cost him dear. In 1622, however, with the Qandahar trouble on the one hand and Shah Jahan's disaffection on the other hand, Nur Jahan felt that he was the only man capable of saving the throne. He was raised to 6,000 zat and 5,000 suwar and summoned to court by a farman which bore the Begam's own seal. But affecting to treat the summons as a device of the treacherous Asaf Khan to get him into his power and destroy him, he plainly refused to obey until his implacable enemy was sent away. To allay his suspicions, Nur Jahan despatched her brother to Agra to bring the royal treasure.[22]

Ambassadors from Shah Abbas.

Meanwhile Qandahar had fallen after a siege of forty-five days.[23] Shortly after arrived the Persian ambassador Haidar Beg with his master's letter in which he gave his own version of the Qandahar affairs; sought to justify his siege and capture of the fort on the ground that Qandahar rightly belonged to the Persian ruling family; declared that Jahangir ought to have surrendered it to him peaceably; and expressed the pious hope that 'the ever vernal flower of union and cordiality (between the two sovereigns) remain in bloom and every effort be made to strengthen the foundations of concord.'

Jahangir upbraided the Shah for treachery and meanness[24] and urged on the retributive expedition. Khan Jahan was

22 Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 240, 245. Gladwin, p. 60. Abdul Hamid's Padshahnama, II. 24, E. and D., VII. 64.
23 Abdul Hamid's Padshahnama. II. 24, E. and D., VII. 64. English Factories in India, 1622-3, p. 108.
24 The two letters which passed between Shah Abbas and Jahangir may be read in Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 240–5.

appointed to the van, with Ali Quli Beg Darman, now raised to 1,500 as his second in command and Allahdad Khan Afghan, M. Isa Tarkhan, Mukarram Khan, and Ikram Khan and other Deccani amirs among subordinate captains. Mirza Rustam, the virtual commander-in-chief, was promoted to 5,000. To Parvez, governor of Bihar since the previous year, an urgent message was sent through his vakil, Sharif, to hasten with the army of Bihar at once to court.[25]

Just at this juncture, however, news arrived that Shah Jahan had unfurled the standard of revolt and left Mandu with an immense army for the north.[26]

[25] Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 245.
Parvez's appointment to Bihar, English Factories in India, 1618–21, pp. 236, 248, 253.
For the fear inspired by his rule, Mundy II. Appendix, 363-4.
[26] Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 246-7.

CHAPTER XVII

SHAH JAHAN'S REBELLION

IN his attitude of defiance to Nur Jahan, Shah Jahan was supported by most of the great amirs stationed in the Deccan, Gujarat and Malwa. The old Khan Khana, his son Darab Khan, Himmat Khan, Sarbuland Khan, Sharza Khan, Abid Khan, Jado Ray, Uday Ram, Atash Khan, Rustam Khan, Bairam Beg, Darya Khan Taqi, and Mansur Khan, all noted military officers, enthusiastically espoused his cause. Kunwar Bhim, the valorous though headstrong son of Rana Karan of Mewar, was at his side with his heroic Rajput contingent. Above all, Ray Rayan Raja Bikramajit—the Sundar who had contributed so much to the subjugation of Mewar, the fall of Kangra, and the pacification of the Deccan—one of the greatest generals and administrators of the empire, stood forth as his right-hand man. Indeed, if Jahangir may be trusted, he had no small share in inciting Shah Jahan to offer a bold front to the government. Some of the Deccan amirs had gone to court, but most of them were with him at the head of the contingents which the Imperial Government had repeatedly requisitioned in vain. Fortunately, all was quiet on the Deccan borders for the time being. In the Imperial camp the Prince could count on the prudent Asaf Khan and the unscrupulous Abdullah Khan Firoz Jang. The chronicler Motamad Khan leaned to him, while Muharim Khan Khalil Beg and Fidai Khan could be trusted to supply him with valuable information.

Shah Jahan's party.

On his return to his master at Mandu, Afzul Khan represented that the Begam's domination over Jahangir was complete, that matters had reached a crisis that inactivity on Shah Jahan's part would not prevent the confiscation of his northern holdings, and that the only chances of safety lay in prompt action. The tone and trend of Imperial farmans, secret messages, and current rumours indicated that the issue could only be decided by the arbitrament of the sword.

Shah Jahan's situation.

Shah Jahan accordingly advanced from Mandu with his well-seasoned troops, hoping, perhaps, to catch the Imperialists unawares. But Nur Jahan rose equal to the occasion. Express messages were sent to Prince Parvez to hurry to the court with all his forces from Bihar. The Rajput feudatories were summoned to the support of the throne. The princes of Amber, Marwar, Kotah, Bundi, and other States loyally and generously responded to the call. Raja Bir Singh Deo was not slow to obey the command of his benefactors. The venerable Khan Azam was conciliated with the rank of 7,000 zat and 5,000 suwar. Numerous other nobles, smarting under insults or apprehensive of royal displeasure, received pardons and promotions. Above all, the great Mahabat Khan was placated by Asaf Khan's appointment to distant Bengal and by his immediate departure to Agra to convey the Imperial treasure. Mahabat reached the Imperial court in January, 1623, and assumed the chief command of the rapidly mobilizing Imperial forces. Jahangir himself, at considerable risk to his delicate health, left Lahore and marched *via* Nur Saray (February, 1623) to Delhi.

Nur Jahan's preparations.

Meanwhile, the Impreial Government, probably in order to gain time, despatched Musawi Khan to enter into negotiations with Shah Jahan. The emissary found the Prince before Fathpur Sikri in the neighbourhood of Agra. The only result of the interview was that Shah Jahan commissioned his own officer Qazi Abdul Aziz to lay his demands before the emperor. The Qazi duly waited on Jahangir, but his message proved so unpalatable that he was committed to prison. All possibility of a peaceful accommodation had, indeed, vanished long before.

Futile negotiations.

The gates of Fathpur Sikri had been shut against the rebels, but Raja Bikramajit had raided the unwalled city of Agra, seized the wealth of the nobles, robbing, among others, Lashkar Khan of Rs. 9,00,000.[1]

Raid on Agra.

[1] Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 246, 247, 249, 250.
Iqbalnama, 194—200. Maasir-i-Jahangiri (Khuda Bakhsh MS.), pp. 164 (*a*)—168 (*b*).

Early in March, 1623, Shah Jahan at the head of 27,000 cavalry marched along the Jumna to meet the Imperialists. At Shahpur, leaving a small detachment on that road, he turned aside some forty miles towards Kotila with the main force and encamped at Bilochpur. He tried guerilla tactics and attempted to cut off the supplies of the enemy, but found that the Deccan plan was unsuited to the plains.

Shah Jahan's march.

The Imperialists, headed by Mahabat Khan with the van under Abdullah Khan Firoz Jang two miles ahead, marched south and encamped at Qabulpur on March 28. A skirmish on the same day resulted in the victory of an Imperial deatchment under Baqir Khan.

The next day saw decisive battle. The Imperialists, numbering 26,000 horse, were divided into three corps—8,000 under Asaf Khan, an equal number under Khwaja Abul Hasan, and a picked body of 10,000 under Abdullah Khan. The treacherous leader of the van, however, had already entered into an agreement with Shah Jahan to desert to him with his corps in a body. On the way he had sought to weaken the Imperialists by formally accusing many a loyal capable officer of sedition and treachery but fortunately, Nur Jahan had escaped the trap and refrained from punitive action.[2]

The battle of Bilochpur.

The two armies had not long been in grapple when Abdullah Khan, accompanied by his fellow-conspirators as well as

Khafi Khan follows Motamad Khan.

Tod, II. 32-3, 385-6. Also Bir Vinoda. Gladwin, pp. 62-3.

For the rumoured cruelties of Shah Jahan's troops in the raid on Agra, see Della Valle, I. 121.

Nur Saray was named after Nur Jahan. For other places named after her see Peter Mundy, II. 78-9. English Factories in India, 1622-3, p. 123.

[2] Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 250-1, 252, 253-4.

Iqbalnama, pp. 200—2.

Gladwin, pp. 63-4.

Among the officers serving under Asaf Khan might be mentioned Qasim Khan, Hashkar Khan, Iradat Khan, Fidai Khan. Khwaja Abul Hasan's subordinates included Baqir Khan, Nurrudin Quli, Ibrahim Husain Kashghari, while Abdullah Khan counted Nawazish Khan, Abdul Aziz Khan, Azizullah, many a Barha, and Amroha Saiyyad among his followers

by others like Nawazish Khan, who thought him leading a cavalry charge, passed to the rebel lines, but his plan being a secret to all save Shah Jahan and Bikramajit, he was received as an enemy by Darab Khan. Bikramajit galloped to inform Darab of the real situation, but as he returned to his post, he was shot in the temple by Nawazish Khan and fell a corpse. His loss more than counterbalanced the gain from Abdullah Khan's support. The rebels were thrown into confusion. Only the valour of the Mewar Prince, Kunwar Bhim, saved them from a disgraceful rout. They sustained the combat till the night parted them from the foe. They prudently beat an immediate retreat towards Mandu. Shah Jahan, however, took care to depute the hill chief, Raja Jagat Singh, son of Raja Basu, to raise the north-eastern Punjab and distract the Imperialists.

Raja Bikramajit's head was cut off by an Imperial detachment which chanced to appear on the spot where the body had been brought for cremation. It was presented to Jahangir who was as jubilant over the ghastly spectacle as over the victory itself. On his own followers he showered promotions, titles, dignities and gifts in royal profusion.[3]

The day after, the Imperialists, rejoined by some of the followers of Abdullah Khan, resumed their march and moving at a rather slow pace arrived at the lake of Fathpur on the 1st Urdibihisht (April, 1623). Here the eunuch Itibar Khan, governor of

The Imperialists resume their march.

[3] Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 253—6, 259.
Iqbalnama, pp. 203-4.
M. U. (Beveridge), I. 99, 419.
Gladwin, p. 64.

The Maasir-i-Jahangiri says that Shah Jahan retreated to Mandu in reliance on Mahabat Khan's promise that if he retreated to the south, he would be pardoned and restored to his jagirs. The statement is improbable.

A few of the promotions made by Jahangir after the battle may be noted. Khwaja Abul Hasan was raised to 5,000; Nawazish Khan to 4,000 zat and 3,000 suwar; Baqir Khan to 3,000 and 500 with drums; Ibrahim Husain Azizullah and Raja Ram Das to 2,000 and 1,000; Nuruddin Quli to 2,000 and 700; Lutfullah and Parwarish Khan to 1,000 and 500 each. 'If all the servants were written in detail it would take too long' (Jahangir, R. and B., II. 246).

Agra, was for his meritorious services, raised to 6,000 zat and 5,000 suwar and styled Mumtaz Khan. Many other high promotions were made.[4] The times being critical, it was evidently necessary to keep the officers in good humour. The pursuit of Shah Jahan was postponed till the arrival of Prince Parvez with his forces, for Abdullah Khan's action had bred suspicion about Asaf Khan, Abul Hasan and others.

On the 11th at Hindaun arrived Prince Parvez. It may be that he had so far been playing a waiting game. He was, however, received in great honour by the princes, amirs and officers, arrayed in due order, and conducted with great pomp and show to the emperor, who, after the usual ceremonies, publicly embraced him, 'loaded him with more and more favours' and, ostensibly to set him above Shah Jahan, raised him to the unprecedented rank of 40,000 zat and 30,000 suwar.[5]

Pursue Shah Jahan.

A fortnight later on the 25th Urdibihisht (May, 1623) the Imperial army started to hunt down Shah Jahan. It numbered 40,000 horse and included distinguished officers like Khan Alam, Maharaja Gaj Singh, Rashid Khan, Raja Girdhar, Raja Ram Das Kachhwa, Khwaja Mir Abdul Aziz Azizullah, Asad Khan, Parwarish Khan, Ikram Khan, Sayyid Hizhar Khan, Lutfullah Khan and Narayan Das. It was supplied with a large park of artillery. The chief command rested nominally with Parvez, but really with Mahabat Khan. Fazil Khan, the royal Bakhshi, was appointed paymaster and news-writer. Twenty lakhs of rupees were given for expenses.[6]

4 Sayyid Bahwa was raised to 2,000 zat and 1,500 horse; Mukarram Khan to 3,000 and 2,000; Khwaja Qasim to 1,000 and 400; Mansur Khan to 4,000 and 3,000 and Naubat Khan to 2,000 and 1,000. Shortly before, Amanullah, son of Mahabat Khan, had been raised to 3,000 zat and suwar and then to 4,000 zat and suwar with a flag and drums (Jahangir, R. and B., II. 257-8).

5 Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 256–9.
Gladwin, p. 65.

6 Honours similar to those bestowed in former years on Shah Jahan were now showered on Parvez. At the time of his departure, he received from the emperor a special dress of honour 'with a nadiri of gold brocade, and pearls on the collar and skirt, worth Rs. 41,000, prepared in the royal establishment, and a private elephant of the name Ratan Gaj, ten female

At the same time another army under the nominal command of Prince Dawar Bakhsh, son of Khusrau, now raised to 8,000 zat and 3,000 suwar and appointed to the government of Gujarat under the guardianship of his maternal grandfather, the hitherto neglected and persecuted Khan Azam, marched towards Ahmedabad to recover Gujarat for the empire.[7]

Jahangir reaches Ajmere, Khurdad 9, Rajab 19, 1032. May 9, 1623.

To place himself, as usual, closer to the scene of operations, Jahangir himself moved towards Ajmere which he reached on Saturday, May 9, 1623.[8] There he had once resided to support Shah Jahan's Mewar operations. There he now resided to support a campaign against him.

Meanwhile, the Prince had taken shelter in the fort of Mandu and re-arranged his troops, elephants, and artillery.

Skirmishes between Shah Jahan and Mahabat Khan.

When he heard that Parvez and Mahabat Khan had crossed the Ghatee Chanda, he marched out with 20,000 horse, 300 elephants and a large park of artillery to give battle, and sent forward a body of light Maratha horse under Jadu Ray and Uday Ram to harass the Imperialists. Mahabat Khan, however, rose equal to the occasion and effectually counteracted the guerilla tactics. At the same time, he tried and secretly won over some of the ablest and most powerful supporters of Shah Jahan, such as Barqandaz Khan and, above all, Rustam Khan. But for thier support, Mahabat might have been obliged to postpone the campaign till the expiry of the rains.

The Marathas indeed cut off a small body of Imperialists whom their drunken commander Mansur Khan had led to a

elephants, a private horse, and a jewelled sword, the value of the whole of which was Rs. 77,000 and from Nur Jahan Begam 'a dress of honour, a horse and an elephant.'

Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 260.
Iqzalnama, p. 204.
Gladwin, p. 65.

7 Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 260-1.
Iqbalnama, p. 205.
M. U. (Beveridge). I. 549, 570.
For Fazil Khan's Life M.U. (Beveridge), I. 548–50.
For Raja Gaj Singh's Life, M. U. (Beveridge), I. 570–2.

8 Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 261.

foolhardy charge but, as a rule, they were kept at a distance by Mahabat Khan. Shah Jahan sent a large detachment under his treacherous lieutenant, Rustam Khan, with Barqandaz Khan among the subordinate captains, as vanguard, while he himself marched behind with the main body. When it came to a battle near Kaliyadaha, Rustam and Barqandaz with many other officers, such as Muhammad Murad Badakhshi, deserted to the enemy and threw all the arrangements of the Prince into irretrievable confusion.

Desertions to Mahabat Khan.

In the face these examples, the Prince could hardly trust any one and retreated across the Narbada only securing the fords with trustworthy men and leaving a detachment under Bairam Beg and some Marathas to dispute Mahabat's passage.

Khan Khana's letter intercepted.

Other desertions followed. Mahabat's letter to Zahid Khan in answer to the latter's offer of desertion was intercepted by one of Shah Jahan's followers. The traitor was placed under surveillance and his property worth Rs. 130,000 was confiscated. What was still more distressing, Taqi captured and produced before his master the Khan Khana's messenger carrying his letter to Mahabat Khan. Shah Jahan summoned the old man and his sons to his presence, put them to shame by showing them the writing and finally ordered them all to be kept in confinement close to his own quarters.[9]

Shah Jahan goes to Asir.

The prince now made for the fort of Asir, one of the strongest in the world,[10] which was then held by one of his followers, Mir Husamuddin, son of Mir Jamaluddin and husband of Nur Jahan's niece. 'Beware, a thousand times beware,' the Begam had written to him after the battle of Bilochpur,

[9] Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 271–4.
Gladwin, pp. 65-6.

[10] Asir lies 21° 28′ N. and 76° 18′ East. For a glowing description of the fort, see Faizi Sirhindi's Akbarnama (E. and D.), VI. 138–41.
Also De Laet tr. Lethbridge, Calcutta Review, LI. 1870, p. 359.
Bombay Gezetteer, Khandesh XII, Part II. 1880, and Cunningham's Archaeological Survey, Vol. IX. 1879, for plans.

'not to allow Bidaulat (the wretch,' for such was now the official title of the erstwhile 'king of the world'), and his men to come near the fort, but strengthen towers and gates and do your duty and do not act in such a manner that the stain of a curse and ingratitude for favours should fall on the honour or the forehead of a Sayyid.' Husamuddin strengthened the fort but surrendered it without a struggle to Shah Jahan, at whose hands he consented to receive the title of Murtaza Khan and a mansab of 4,000 with a standard and drums.[11] This valuable acquisition was useful as an asylum for the prince, his family, and his treasure and baggage, but it could not long serve as a strategic post. The prince's cause had suffered an irretrievable blow in Gujarat.

Shah Jahan's reverses in Gujarat.

On his departure from the Deccan in 1612, he had placed the province under Kunhar Das, brother of the permanent governor Bikramajit. On his retreat after Bilochpur, he conferred the governorship on Abdullah Khan, while sending for Kunhar Das as well as the Diwan Safi (husband of a sister of his own wife Mumtaz Mahal), to repair to him at Mandu with all the treasure as well as the golden jewelled throne worth five lakhs of rupees and the sword belt worth two lakhs which had originally been prepared for presentation to the emperor. Abdullah Khan continued with Shah Jahan at Mandu and sent as his deputy the eunuch Wafadar who duly assumed office at Ahmedabad.

But Shah Jahan's fortunes were now clearly on the wane. The disastrous consequences of his retreat were manifest everywhere and many of his Gujarat officers, like many of those with him, were bent on exchanging the losing for the victorious side. Here Safi saw his opportunity. Leaving Ahmedabad a few days before Kunhar, he marched to Mahmudabad under pretence of going to Shah Jahan and opened secret negotiations with Nahir Khan, Sayyid Dilir Khan, Nanu Khan Afghan, and other officers and jagirdars to attempt a *coup d'état*.

11 Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 277-8.
Gladwin, pp. 65-6.

Receiving some inkling of their designs, Shah Jahan's faithful servant Salih, faujdar of Pitlad, hurried to Mandu with the treasure amounting nearly to ten lakhs of rupees, followed by Kunhar with the sword belt, though the heavy throne could not be carried.[12] Their action saved the much-needed money for the prince, but their withdrawal facilitated the task of the conspirators.

Safi moved hastily to Karang, the seat of Nanu Khan, where he deposited his family and arranged with his confederates to enter the city or Ahmedabad simultaneously from different quarters early one morning. Thanks to Wafadar's incapacity and neglect, the design was carried out with complete success and the city resounded with proclamations of Imperial victory.

Wafadar had taken refuge in the house of one Shaikh Haidar, but he was betrayed by him and was seized, and along with the Diwan Mohammad Taqi and the Bakhshi Husain Beg, who were captured in their own mansions, thrown into prison. Many other followers of Shah Jahan were likewise robbed of their property and put into confinement. The conspirators obtained two lakhs of rupees from the treasury, together with the golden throne and whatever was left of Shah Jahan's property. They took the wise precaution of strengthening the towers and gates.

Then news of these happenings brought Abdullah Khan out of Mandu with an army numbering between 5,000 and 6,000 and including among subordinate captains several valiant men like Himmat Khan, Sharza Khan, Sarafraz Khan, Qabil Beg, Rustam Bahadur, and Salih Badakhshi. Hoping to take the enemy by surprise, he made a forced march and encamped at Baroda in eight days, but was himself astonished to learn that Safi was waiting at the head of a large force on the bank of the Kankariya lake.

The Imperialists had summoned Raja Kalyan of Idar and other chieftains with their contingents and had, besides the

[12] The removal of the treasure to Mandu caused a scarcity of money and affected the rate of discount on bills. English Factories in India, 1622-3, p. 181; from the Surat Factory Records, Vol. CII, p. 236.

old troops, enrolled a large number of fresh recruits. They had lavishly bestowed money on them and even broken the precious throne to have the gold distributed as pay, though taking care to put the jewels into their own pockets.

The tidings of the preparations at the Kankariya lake decided Abdullah to wait for reinforcements at Baroda. After their arrival, he marched to Mahmudabad some miles distant and put his forces in embattled array on June 10, 1623. Meanwhile the Imperialists moved to the neighbourhood of Batoh near the mausoleum of Qutb Aleem.

To gain a position of vantage, Abdullah Khan sought to shift his troops to Sarkhej, and marched thither giving out to his men that the enemy had laid mines of gunpowder under the ground immediately before them. His progress however was intercepted by the enemy and he was forced to halt at Naranja, where the undulating land, thorn brakes and narrow lanes might serve in his favour or against him. The main body of the Imperialists now moved to Balud, three kos off.

In the battle which followed next morning, the vans, led on the prince's side by Himmat Khan, Rustam Bahadur, and Salih Beg, and on the Imperial side by Nahir Khan and Raja Kalyan, first came into conflict. Himmat Khan received a mortal gunshot wound; Salih was thrown from his horse by an elephant and trampled to death; another huge beast, frightened by the rockets and guns, turned round and crushed many a rebel to death. But, on the whole, the Imperialists fared worse. Their van was utterly broken by Abdullah Khan's charge and would have been exterminated but for the skill of Safi, the commander of the centre, who hurried to its support. Just then the news of the death of Himmat Khan and Salih Beg profoundly discouraged Abdullah and his men. They gave way and turned back, pursued for a kos with heavy slaughter by Sayyid Dilir Khan.

Sharza Khan, whose family was in the hands of the Imperialists, deserted to Safi. The Imperialist leaders reaped the full reward of their loyalty. Safi Khan was styled Saif Khan Jahangir Shahi and given a standard and drums together with

the high mansab of 3,000 zat and 2,000 suwar. Nahir Khan received the same mansab with the title of Shir Khan. Sayyid Dilir Khan was promoted to 2,000 and 1,200 and Nanu Khan to 1,500 and 1,200. The others were also suitably honoured.

Abdullah Khan rejoins Shah Jahan.

Abdullah fled from Baroda to Baroach, where for three days he implored the sons of Himmat Khan to admit him into the fort. But they had no mind to ally themselves with a forlorn fugitive. They firmly refused his requests, and dismissed him with 5,000 mahmudis. He betook himself to Surat where he succeeded in extracting nearly four lakhs from Shah Jahan's officials and something more from the people. With this money he raised a fresh army and joined his master at Burhanpur.[13]

Here the prince had just arrived with some followers, three wives, his children, and some maid-servants, having left the rest of his women, establishment, and superfluous luggage in the fort of Asir under the charge of the Rajput, Gopal Das, a former servant of Sarbuland Ray and for several years his own devoted servant, whom he had appointed governor of the fort.[14] He had at first proposed to imprison the Khan Khana and Darab Khan in the fort but had finally decided to take them with him to Burhnapur under surveillance.

In the capital of the Mughal Deccan the prince had long reigned as virtual sovereign. Thence he had led huge armies to war with the Deccan sovereigns and thence he had dictated terms to them. The contrast of his present with his former situation must have terribly afflicted him, his family, and his few remaining followers. He had been disgracefully driven from the north; Gujarat too was lost to him. His army had melted away. He could not be sure of the fidelity of his re-

[13] Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 261–7, 268, 269.
Iqbalnama, pp. 206–10.
Gladwin, pp. 66–8. M. U. Beveridge, I. 493.
Frequent references to these events in Gujarat and rumours about them occur in the English Factories in India, 1622-3, pp. 226, 239-40, 294, 299.

[14] A contemporary inscription found in the District Judge's court at Thana commemorates this incident. J. J. Modi in J. Bom. Br. R. A. S., 1917, pp. 140–3.

maining contingents. Indeed if Bairam Beg had not secured the boats and firmly defended the bank of the Narbada with guns, Shah Jahan might have been nowhere by this time. If that contingency came to pass even now, he would be ruined.

Shah Jahan's negotiations with Ahmednagar and Bijapur.

In this sad plight he applied for assistance through his trusted plenipotentiary Afzal Khan to his former antagonist Malik Ambar but speedy disappointment waited him in that quarter as well. The astute Deccan statesman would never have consented to embroil himself with the mighty Mughal and draw upon himself the large army commanded by no less a man than Mahabat for the sake of a deserted forlorn fugitive. At the present juncture he was seriously meditating a war with Bijapur and therefore seeking Mughal aid. No wonder that he simply refused to ally himself with Shah Jahan on any terms, but he craftily advised Afzal Khan to repair to Adil Shah. The latter treated the ambassador with open insults, refused to see him for a long time, then detained him too long and, while greedily taking all his presents, evaded granting any assistance.

Repulsed.

When he found the prospect dark before him in every direction, the prince sought to reconcile himself with the emperor. Through Sarbuland Ray, son of Ray Bhoj Hara of Bundi, he opened negotiations with Mahabat Khan, who, thanks to Bairam Beg's energy, skill, and vigilance, was still encamped on the northern bank of the Narbada.

Shah Jahan's negotiations with Mahabat Khan.

Neither Prince Parvez nor Mahabat Khan had any intention of granting terms to Shah Jahan but they dallied with negotiations to throw him off his guard and to play some fresh trick on him. They declared that there could be no peace until the Khan Khana came in person to represent Shah Jahan.

The latter had lost all confidence in the old man but in the present extremity he released him from prison and appointed him his plenipotentiary. He made him swear fidelity on the Quran. He took him into his harem, brought his (Shah Jahan's)

The Khan Khana's abortive embassy.

wife and son as supplicants before him, lamented his misfortunes to him, and entreated and beseeched him for support. 'My times are hard,' he continued, 'and my position difficult; I make myself over to you and make you the guardian of my honour. You must act so that I no longer undergo contempt and confusion.'

The Khan Khana left Shah Jahan's camp, but before he gained the southern bank of the river whence he was to correspond in writing with Mahabat Khan, some Imperialists, taking advantage of carelessness on the part of Bairam Khan's men at a certain point, crossed the river one night and fell upon the rebels. All hope was lost; Bairam's men scattered in all directions or deserted to Mahabat Khan. When, therefore, the Khan Khana arrived, he found that his client's situation was more hopeless than ever. In spite of all his oaths, he fell in with Mahabat Khan's offers and waited in all reverence before Prince Parvez. All talk of peace was over at once.

The intelligence of the passage of the Narbada, the flight of Bairam Beg, the desertion of the Khan Khana, and, above all, the further advance of the Imperialists came as a stunning blow to the prince. Even flight was now difficult, for the rains had long commenced and the Tapti was in flood.

Nevertheless, no other resource being open to him, he decided to cross the river and enter the territory of his former enemy, the King of Golconda, and escape thence into Orissa and Bengal. Some of his followers deserted him. Sarbuland Khan Afghan refused to cross the river, even when exhorted and entreated by Shah Jahan's messenger sent from the other side.[15] Jado Ray, Uday Ram, and Atash Khan accompanied him for some stages simply because their private holdings lay on the way, Jado Ray taking care to lag behind to pick up the abandoned property of the distressed fugitives.

Shah Jahan crosses the Tapti.

[15] Shah Jahan's messenger Zulfiqar delivered the message to Sarbuland on the river's bank when the latter was seated on horse-back. Sarbuland gave no precise answer but told Zulfiqar to let go his bridle. The latter drew his sword and aimed at Sarbuland's waist, but the blow was caught on the barchha by an Afghan soldier. Swords were drawn and Zulfiqar

The emperor or rather Nur Jahan urged Parvez and Mahabat to continue the pursuit in full vigour and either capture Shah Jahan alive or hound him out of the Imperial territory. Accordingly, they crossed the flooded Tapti and marched on in spite of the torrential rains for forty kos as far as the paragana of Ankot.

Shah Jahan redoubled his pace and reached the fort of Mahur, where he deposited his elephants, cattle, and goods with Uday Ram who, like the other Deccanis, was not prepared to follow him further. He himself with his devoted wife Mumtaz Mahal, his sons Dara Shukoh, Shuja, and Aurangzeb, his ever faithful Rajput band under Raja Bhim, and some other contingents escaped into the territory of Golconda.[16]

Enters the territory of Golconda.

Shah Jahan had fallen only to rise again, but for the present all trouble was over. The situation created by Jagat Singh's disturbance in the Punjab hills was fairly in hand. Sadiq Khan, and his lieutenants had driven him into the fort of Man, had cut off his supplies, and were successfully repelling his frequent sallies. He was about to be starved out and forced to surrender. Except for the almost perennial disturbances in the north-west and a few other isolated spots, the whole empire was for the moment perfectly quiet.

Prince Parvez and Mahabat Khan returned to pass the rains at Burhanpur. The emperor Jahangir broke up his camp at Ajmere and on November 14, 1623, started for the pleasant vale of Kashmir, the only abode now agreeable to his shattered constitution.[17]

Jahangir leaves Ajmere, Azar 2, Safar 1, 1033. November 14, 1623.

was cut to pieces together with Sultan Muhammad, the treasurer, who had accompanied him without Shah Jahan's permission. (Jahangir, II. 280).

[16] Jahangir (R. and B.). II. 278—81, 290.
Iqbalnama, 210—12, Khafi Khan follows Motamad Khan.
Gladwin. pp. 68-9. M. U. (Beveridge), I. 378. For a short account of the revolt, K. T. 167—74

[17] Jahangir (R. and B.). II. 289, 291-2. Iqbalnama, 213-4.
Maasir-i-Jahangiri (Khuda Bakhsh MS.), p. 179 (*b*).

CHAPTER XVIII

SHAH JAHAN'S MARCH THROUGH GOLCONDA AND TELINGANA—HIS OPERATION IN NORTH INDIA

As he set his foot on foreign territory in October, 1623, Shah Jahan heaved a sigh of relief. He was, at any rate, free from the relentless pursuit of Mahabat Khan. His troubles however, were by no means over. His wife retained her cheerfulness through all trials and never for a moment thought of separating herself from him. His very misfortunes rendered her devotion all the more fervent. But many of his followers were thoroughly tired of their distressful situation and pined for home. Shah Jahan on his part was not prepared to be left all alone. An incident which occurred during the march well illustrates the miserable relations subsisting between him and his followers.

Shah Jahan's plight.

Mirza Muhammad, son of Afzal Khan who was still vegetating at the court of Bijapur, had with his mother and family followed the prince into Golconda. All of a sudden he absconded with his family and his dependents. Shah Jahan promptly despatched Jafar Beg with a body of troopers to pursue him and bring him or his head to him. As the party approached the Mirza, he concealed his mother and his family in the dense jungles while he himself, choosing a spot behind a canal and swamp, prepared with his young followers to offer battle. Sayyid Jafar, from the other bank of the canal, exhorted him to return, but the Mirza refused to alter his resolution and commanded his bowmen to discharge their arrows. A regular skirmish ensued. Sayyid Jafar was wounded and a few of his followers, Khan Quli and others, were slain. Mirza Muhammad continued the struggle till, overcome with wounds, he fell dead. His head was cut off and presented to Shah Jahan.[1]

[1] Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 289-90. Iqbalnama, 214-5.
K. K., I. 343.
M. U., I. 164. Beveridge, I. 151.

In spite of the terrible example, however, desertions continued. Shah Jahan now sought to gain the alliance of the sovereign of Golconda, but the latter would only send him a small sum in cash and some goods. In consultation with his nobles and officers he commanded the warden of his frontier to encourage the grain dealers and zamindars to supply the fugitives with provisions and instructed him to see them quickly out of the country. Shah Jahan promised to withdraw in fifteen or twenty days and pledged himself not to offer the least molestation to the inhabitants.[2]

Shah Jahan and the Golconda Government.

He failed to traverse the long territory of Telingana within the stipulated period and did not reach the environs of Masulipatam[3] till November 5, 1623. At this time his following comprised 4,500 horse and ten or twelve thousand infantry and camp followers. He counted 500 elephants and a number of transport camels. The fugitives and their beasts destroyed the paddy crops and palms for some twenty miles about their route. As he neared a town or village, Shah Jahan sent solemn assurances of security through his principal nobles and under his own seal to the inhabitants. Nevertheless, the latter, frightened by the size and character of his retinue, invariably fled away in large numbers. Masulipatam itself was emptied of two-thirds of its citizens, including most of the rich folk. The English factors, like others, prepared to fly, but were held back, by the 'damned governor' who did not permit 'any boat or people to serve us for that purpose.' The governor of the town and other principal Muslim officers came out several miles to receive the far-famed Mughal prince.

[2] Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 290-1.
English Factories in India, 1622-3, p. 313.
The Masulipatam factors reported that the Qutb Shah had sent twenty elephants and 200,000 pagodas in gold to Shah Jahan. (*Ibid.*, p. 314.)

[3] For seventeenth century Masulipatam, see Bowrey, pp. 106, 110.
Fryer, I. 80.
For a brief notice at the end of the sixteenth century, Ralph Fitch, ed. Horton Ryley, p. 94.

Resolved to refresh his weary followers for four or five days, Shah Jahan took up his quarters in a 'fair green' about a mile and a half from the city. He paid liberally for all commodities required and raised the prices threefold and even more. Some of his counsellors ventured to suggest the sack of the city but the prince refused to listen to the base proposal.[4]

On November 10, he struck his camp, turned to the north-east and, under the guidance of Golconda officers, entered through the Chhatar Diwar Pass into the Mughal territory of Orissa.[5]

Shah Jahan enters Orissa.

The authorities in Benagl and Orissa were not only unprepared to meet Shah Jahan but seem to have been altogether ignorant of his recent movements. The governor of Orissa, Ahmad Beg Khan, nephew of the Bengal governor, Ibrahim Khan Fath Jang, a brother of Nur Jahan, was engaged in an attack on the recently subjugated but now refractory zamindar of Khurda,[6] when he was astonished and bewildered at the intelligence of Shah Jahan's entry into Orissa. He at once abandoned the Khurda campaign and retired to Pipli. If Orissa had possessed a governor of the type of Mahabat Khan, Safi, or even Ibrahim Khan, it might have gone hard with Shah Jahan. As it was, Ahmad Beg displayed singular cowardice and incapacity. He made no resolute effort to collect troops

[4] English Factories in India, 1622-3, pp. 313–15. The letter of Thomas Mills and John Dod at Masulipatam to the President and Council at Surat, dated November 12, 1623, from the Factory Records, Surat, Vol. CII. p. 463.

[5] Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 298.
Iqbalnama, p. 217.
Gladwin, p. 69.
English Factories in India, 1622-3, p. 315.

Jahangir does not give the name of the barrier 'between Orissa and the Deccan, of which he says 'on one side there are lofty mountains and on the other swamps and a river. The ruler of Golconda had also erected a wall and a fort, and armed it with muskets and cannon.' This description corresponds to that of the Chhatar Diwar given in M. U., I. 410 (Beveridge, I. 387), and Padshahnama, I. 333. The fort had been built by Mansur, an officer of Qutbul-mulk, and was called Mansurgarh after him. See Beveridge's note on p. 298.

[6] Beveridge (M. U., I. 155) is wrong in substituting Kokra for Khurda, the reading in the Text.
Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 298, also has Khurda. Kokra is in Bihar.

but retired with his family to Cuttack, twelve kos off, and thence to Bardawan, the jagir and faujdari of Salih, nephew of the late Asaf Khan Jafar Begi, and thence to his uncle, Ibrahim Khan, at Dacca.

Salih could hardly believe the news until he received a letter from Abdullah Khan seeking his support for the prince. Then he fortified Bardawan and made ready for a siege.[7] Ibrahim Khan was equally astonished at the intelligence but acted with courage and decision. He collected some troops, arranged for a large number of war-boats or nawárá, put his artillery in order, and left Dacca for Akbarnagar, receiving further recruits and retainers of zamindars on the way.

Meanwhile Shah Jahan had also increased his army. His overtures to the Portuguese at Hugli for military assistance were rejected, but the negotiations opened through his principal officers with the zamindars and Imperial officials met with better success. Shah Jahan himself wrote to Ibrahim Khan explaining how 'the decree of God and the ordinances of heaven' had brought him to his present plight, expressing a desire to hold Bengal, and offering Ibrahim Khan a jagir in any part of the province or a free, unmolested passage to the court. Nur Jahan's brother rejected the offer with disdain. Rather than dishonour himself, he said, he would die in the service of his master to whom he owed everything in life.[8]

Shah Jahan's offer to Ibrahim Khan.

Salih, the faujdar of Bardawan, likewise rejected the overtures opened through Abdullah Khan and resolved to defend his charge. Shah Jahan could not leave such a stronghold behind him unsubdued and forthwith laid siege to it. Reduced to extremities, Salih surrendered to Abdullah Khan who placed him

Bardawan besieged.

[7] Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 298-9.
Iqbalnama, M. U. (Beveridge), I. 155-6. Gladwin, p. 69.

[8] Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 299.
Iqbalnama, pp. 217–9. (E. and D., VI. 408-9).
M. U. (Beveridge), I. 156.
Gladwin, pp. 69-70.

under custody and produced him, with a sash round his neck, before the prince. Bardawan was forthwith occupied and Shah Jahan resumed his march to Akbarnagar.[9]

Falls.

Abkarnagar was the name of the Raj Mahal where Raja Man Singh had established his capital and had built a strong fortress on the bank of the river. A few years later, however, the river had shifted nearly a kos and thus considerably reduced the strategic value of the stronghold. Ibrahim Khan accordingly had strongly fortified his son's tomb which he had erected on the brink of the stream. Here it was that in 1624, he stationed himself with 4,000 soldiers including some Portuguese gunners. He was soon reinforced by other troops. His flotilla, he hoped would keep him well supplied with provisions.

Akbarnagar.

Shah Jahan at once seized the old abandoned fort and then laid siege to Ibrahim Khan's new stronghold. An artillery duel ensued causing considerable loss on both sides. Rumi Khan, the Prince's commandant of artillery, tried to lay a mine under the walls of the fort, but did not succeed at once. The besieged derived great assistance from the situation of the fort, specially as Shah Jahan had not been able to collect any boats. Ahmad Beg Khan succeeded in throwing himself into the fort and refreshing the courage of the garrison. If the siege could have lasted long, Ibrahim would have received reinforcements from the emperor. As a matter of fact, Prince Parvez and Mahabat Khan had already struck their camp at Burhanpur. Shah Jahan's only chances of success lay in speedy reduction of Ibrahim Khan. Accordingly he sent a detachment under Darya Khan to cross the river and circumvent the families of the Imperialists stationed there. Ibrahim Khan, as soon as he received the intelligence, came out on the flotilla with Ahmad Beg to prevent the crossing but found that he was too late, though he

Shah Jahan's operations.

[9] Iqbalnama, p. 219. (E. and D., VI. 409.)
Gladwin, p. 69. Stewart, History of Bengal, Bangabasi Press edition, pp. 255-6.

still succeeded in sending a reinforcement under Ahmad Beg to his own men and in preventing any further crossings.

The Imperialists were overpowered by Darya Khan, and Ahmad Beg Khan fled to his uncle who was sent to the fort for reinforcements. Darya Khan thereupon retreated a few miles, but just at this juncture Shah Jahan procured a number of boats from a Bengal zamindar, Teliyah Raja, and, under the guidance of his fellow-zamindars, landed 1,500 cavalry under the redoubtable Abdullah Khan on the opposite bank, a few miles above Raj Mahal.

The prince's forces now took up a position with the Ganges on one side and a thick jungle on the other. Ibrahim Khan had crossed over and arranged his men in three divisions—under Sayyid Nurullah, Ahmad Beg, and himself. The battle which followed was well contested for a while, but Nurullah's division ultimately gave way. Ahmad Beg was then attacked in force and, after a gallant resistance, overpowered. Ibrahim Khan's division fought on, but there could be no doubt that victory had definitely declared itself on the prince's side. The Imperialist commander was advised by his officers to save himself by flight but he disdained the suggestion. Some of his men seized his bridle and attempted to drag him away, but he exclaimed, 'My life does not need such a course; what can I do better than die on the field of battle?' Immediately he was surrounded and cut down, and his head carried to the prince.

The news of the defeat of their comrades and the death of their valorous leader profoundly depressed the garrison. They would have surrendered at discretion but just at this time the mine laid by Rumi Khan exploded and made a breach of forty yards in the wall. The fort was stormed at once. Many of the garrison cast themseleves into the river, others fell by the sword, while the rest submitted and were granted quarter. Mirak Jalayer, one of the principal Bengal officers, was among the prisoners.[10]

Shah Jahan's victory.

10 Iqbalnama, pp. 220–2. (E. and D., VI. 409-10.) K. K., I. 344–6. Gladwin, pp. 71-2. Muhammad Hadi M. U. (Beveridge), I. 156.

Ahmad Beg fled to Dacca where resided his family as well as that of his uncle and where was deposited their immense wealth. But he was closely followed by the enemy and forced to surrender. He was received well but twenty-five lakhs of rupees belonging to the late Ibrahim Khan, another five lakhs belonging to Mirak Jalayer, 500 elephants, 400 horses, valuable cloths, Agar wood of immense value—above all, the artillery and the flotilla—all passed into the hands of the victors.

Surrender of Ahmad Beg Khan.

Shah Jahan rewarded his followers with his usual generosity, bestowing three lakhs of rupees on Abdullah Khan, two lakhs on Raja Bhim, one lakh each on Darya Khan and Darab Khan, 50,000 each on Vizier Khan and Shujaat Khan, and reserving one lakh for equal division bewteen the absent Muhammad Taqi and Bairam Beg.[11]

Thanks to the incipient weakness of the local officers, to the delay in the arrival of reinforcements from headquarters, and, above all, to the dash and vigour of the rebel commanders, Bengal and Orissa lay at the feet of Shah Jahan. With this region, so well adapted to harbour the defenders of a weak cause, as his base of operations, he now thought of mastering Bihar and then Oudh, Allahabad and Agra. With the fertile, well-populated Gangetic plains in his hands, he could draw immense supplies of men and money and fairly contest the game with the Imperialists and extort favourable terms. He placed Bengal under the charge of Darab Khan, son of the Khan Khana, hitherto kept in confinement, making him swear fidelity in the most solemn manner and keeping his wife, son, and nephew (son of Shah Nawaz Khan) as hostages for his good behaviour.

Shah Jahan's situation and plans.

The valorous and ever faithful Raja Bhim was sent with an advance force to attack Patna, governed then by Prince Parvez's deputy, the Diwan Mukhlis Khan, with Iftikhar Khan and Sher Khan Afghan as his principal assistants.

11 Iqbalnama, pp. 221-2. (E. and D., VI. 410.) K. K., I. 345-6. Gladwin, p. 72.

The Patna officers beat the record of their brethren in Orissa and, like their predecessors of 1610, showed both cowardice and neglect of duty. The intelligence of Raja Bhim's approach entirely upset them; they did not so much as think of putting the fort in a state of defence, but, as Motamad Khan remarks, 'setting their own safety above the loss of such a country' fled to Allahabad. Raja Bhim was able, therefore, to enter on the possession of the fort of Patna and the province of Bihar without a struggle. Shah Jahan arrived a few days later and proceeded to regulate the affairs of the province in his own interest. The jagirdars of the province submitted to him and voluntarily or involuntarily gave him valuable support. The ruling prince of Ujaina waited on him. What was quite as important, Sayyid Mubarak surrendered the strong fort of Rohtas to him.[12]

Raja Bhim enters Patna and takes possession of Bihar.

Shah Jahan receives the fort of Rohtas.

With Bengal and Bihar under his control, Shah Jahan laid plans for the seizure of Oudh and Allahabad. He despatched Darya Khan Afghan with an army towards Manikpur in Oudh and Abdullah Khan and Raja Bhim with another detachment together with the flotilla moving along the Ganges towards Allahabad. On the arrival of the latter at Chausaghat, Jahangir Quli Khan, son of the Khan Azam, governor of Jaunpur, following the example of his compatriots in Orissa and Bihar, left his charge and fled to Mirza Rustam at Allahabad. Abdullah Khan followed him and encamped at Jhunsi, an ancient Hindu capital, but then, as now, a small deserted town, on the Ganges just opposite Allahabad. The flotilla enabled the rebel captain to cross and pitch his camp at Allahabad itself, while Raja Bhim stationed his Rajputs at a distance of five kos. Abdullah at once laid siege to the fort

Shah Jahan plans the seizure of Oudh and Allahabad.

Abdullah Khan besieges Allahabad.

12 Iqbalnama, pp. 221-2. (E. and D., VI. 410-11.) K. K., I. 346. Gladwin, pp. 72-3. Muhammad Hadi. Tod, I. 294—6 gives a wrong account of Raja Bhim's part in the revolt.

of Allahabad while Rustam Khan prepared for a vigorous defence.

Meanwhile, Shah Jahan himself, leaving Darya Khan, who had been recalled from Bardawan, in charge of Bihar, had marched along the Ganges, fully taken possession of Jaunpur, and encamped in the forests of Kampat.[13]

At this stage, however, his rapid progress was rudely checked. The resistance offered by Ibrahim Khan at Akbarnagar and by Rustam Khan at Allahabad had given Parvez and Mahabat Khan time to reach the environs of Allahabad while the siege of the fort was still in progress.

Having settled the Deccan affairs by an alliance with Bijapur, Prince Parvez on March 16, 1624, and Mahabat Khan a few days later had, in obedience to the insistent Imperial commands, left Burhanpur in spite of the rains, and marched north-east towards Bengal to reinforce the Imperialists there against Shah Jahan, who was known to all except the Bengal officers to be aiming at Orissa through Golconda and Telingana. They would have caught the prince in Bengal or at any rate in Bihar if the Orissa and Bihar officers had acted manfully. As it was, they learnt, on entering the Doab, that the rebels had already laid siege to Allahabad.

The numbers of the Imperialist army and the reputation and prestige of its general, however, at once decided Abdullah Khan to raise the siege and retire to Jhunsi.

The rebels had taken the precaution of seizing nearly all available boats and now strongly held all the fords on the Ganges—just as Bairam Beg had in 1623 held those on the Narbada. Meanwhile they fortified themselves in Kampat on the bank of the river Tons raising earthworks and mounting their artillery thereon. It required all the resourcefulness of Mahabat Khan to procure thirty boats from the local zamindars in the course of several days and then to cross the river forty kos above the usual fords at Allahabad. Next, this past-master in the art of sowing dissensions among his foes, succeeded in

13 Iqbalnama, pp. 222-3. (E. and D., VI. 411.) Gladwin, p. 73.

inducing the zamindars and masters of the flotilla in Shah Jahan's camp to fly with all the boats to Bengal.

This desertion paralysed all the military and commissariat arrangements of the rebel prince. The strength and vigilance of the Imperialists prevented the people from bringing provisions to him. His camp at Kampat, therefore, soon began to feel the pinch of hunger. The arrival of Darya Khan at this juncture raised his strength to 10,000, but accentuated his distress. The Imperialists, numbering 40,000, encamped at a few miles distance from the rebel lines. The valorous and impetuous Raja Bhim counselled an immediate attack, but Abdullah Khan declared that it would be sheer folly to pit 10,000 men, many of whom were raw and inexperienced, against 40,000 regulars commanded by a general of Mahabat Khan's consummate ability. He advised his master to avoid the Imperial army, hurry through Oudh to Delhi, and if overtaken by the Imperialists, gallop back to the Deccan. Such strategy would soon wear out the Imperialists, encumbered as they were by heavy baggage, and would induce them to conclude peace on favourable terms. Most of the other captains concurred in this opinion but Raja Bhim declared such marching and manoeuvring contrary to the Rajput code of warfare and to be a party to such tactics. Unless they decided for immediate action he would withdraw his support.

Shah Jahan gave his vote to the gallant, rash Rajput and ordered the ranks to be formed in battle-array and the guns to be dismounted from the redoubts for field-service. But before his arrangements were quite complete, the Imperialists surrounded his army on three sides and discharged showers of arrows and bullets. Raja Bhim charged with his usual reckless heroism. His Rajputs surpassed themselves. But they were overpowered and cut down by the Imperialists. Raja Bhim received numberless wounds but fought on till his last breath. The rebel ranks were broken and scattered in all directions. Their guns fell into the hands of Mahabat Khan. Shah Jahan's horse was wounded but he escaped with his life.[14]

[14] Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 294–6. K. K., I. 346–56.

The defeat completely ruined Shah Jahan's affairs for the time. By forced marches he reached the fort of Rohtas where his youngest son, Murad Bakhsh, saw the light and whence he wrote to Darab Khan, his Viceroy of Bengal, to inform him of the late disaster and to instruct him to meet him with all his forces at Ghuree.

Shah Jahan's retreat to Rohats.

The prince stayed at Rohtas for only three days and, on the fourth day, leaving his wife Mumtaz Mahal, who was too weak to accompany him, in the fort under the charge of Abdullah Khan, marched towards Ghuree. Darab Khan, however, had no mind to follow in the train of a forlorn fugitive rebel. He replied to Shah Jahan that the local zamindars had arisen, held him captive, and made it impossible for him to march to Ghuree.

The defection of Darab Khan rendered all hope of another effort in Bengal futile. Shah Jahan went to Akbarnagar, retook all the munitions and baggage left there, and set out to return by the old route to the Deccan where a diplomatic revolution held out better prospects to him.[15] He had the humanity to instruct Abdullah to do no harm to Darab's son, the hostage in his possession, but that hard-hearted man heeded not his master's behest and put the innocent boy to death. The father soon met a similar though more deserved fate.

To Akbarnagar.

After the battle on the Tons, Parvez and Mahabat Khan passed on to Bihar, whence the prince, in obedience to Imperial orders, returned to court, leaving his associate in charge of the province. The latter sent for Darab Khan, and, according to the

Parvez returns to court.

Iqbalnama, pp. 229—34. (E. and D., VI. 413-4.)
Gladwin, pp. 73—5. Muhammad Hadi. (E. and D., VI. 393-4.)
M. U. (Beveridge), I. 455-6.
Tod, II. 33 gives a legendary account of the battle and of Raja Bhim's death. See also Bir Vinoda.
For Darya Khan Rohilla's life, M. U. (Beveridge), I. 455—7.

15 Iqbalnama, pp. 233-4, 238-9. (E. and D. 414, 416.)
Gladwin, p. 75.
M. U. (Beveridge), I. 452.

Imperial mandate 'that there was no use in keeping such a worthless fellow alive,' executed him and forwarded his head to court.[16]

The old Khan Khana was mortified at the tragic end of his son and grandson and at the treatment he himself received from the Imperialist captains. All through their march from Burhanpur to Bihar they pitched his camp close to that of Prince Parvez and kept a strong watch over him.[17]

The Khan Khana.

The emperor, however, had the generosity and wisdom to forgive and console his old tutor and guardian. He sent for him to court in Kashmir. When he prostrated himself and for sheer shame refused to raise his head from the ground, the emperor graciously told him that he was innocent and that the recent events had come to pass through the decrees of fate. He was not only confirmed in his rank and title but also given a lakh of rupees and the jagir of Malkusah.[18]

Pardoned by Jahangir.

About the same time another high officer re-entered the Imperial service and favour. Afzal Khan, as we have seen, had

16 Iqbalnama, pp. 239-40. (E. and D., VI. 416-7.)

17 M. U. (Beveridge, I. 60) records that while Parvez and Mahabat Khan were driving Shah Jahan out of the Imperial Deccan, 'the Khan Khana wrote to Raja Bhim....that if the prince would release his sons he would contrive to turn back the Imperial troops. Otherwise affairs would become difficult. Raja Bhim wrote in reply that they had still 5,000 or 6,000 devoted followers, and that whenever he approached, his sons would be put to death, and he himself would be attacked.' The author also asserts that the Khan Khana was actually put under arrest by Mahabat Khan.

The Khan Khana was apparently regarded as capable of any treachery.

A wit wrote of him—

'A span in height and a hundred twists in the heart,
A tiny handful of bones, and a hundred frauds.
(M. U. Beveridge, I. 62.)

18 M. U. (Beveridge), I. 60-1. Some details are confused. Gladwin, p. 78.

The Khan Khana is said to have engraved on his ring the following verse:—

By the help of God, the kindness of Jahangir.
Has twice given me life and twice the Khan Khani.

been left at the court of Bijapur, when Shah Jahan began his retreat through Golconda. But now Bijapur had entered into an alliance with the Mughal government. Afzal had therefore no alternative but to quit his fruitless enterprise and rejoin the emperor who had the generosity to forgive him, to raise him to the rank of 1,500 zat and suwar and to appoint him Khansama (steward).[19]

Afzal Khan rejoins Jahangir.

[19] Iqbalnama, pp. 24—8.
Gladwin, pp. 75-6.
M. U. (Beveridge, I. 151-2) wrongly places this visit in 1626 and gives it the character of an embassy from Shah Jahan. The author says that the emperor unkindly detained the ambassador and appointed him Khansama.
Khafi Khan, Sujan Rai, and other later chroniclers follow Motamad Khan in their account of Prince Shah Jahan's revolt.

CHAPTER XIX

SHAH JAHAN'S REVOLT (contd.)
THE DECCAN

BOTH Adil Shah, the King of Bijapur, and Malik Ambar, the all-powerful minister of Ahmednagar, had, in October, 1623, pressed every nerve to gain the Mughal alliance, one against the other. In an important letter which he sent through Ali Shir to Mahabat Khan, the temporary guardian of Mughal interests in the Deccan, Malik Ambar offered personally to wait on him at Dewalgaon, to give his eldest son into the Imperial service and to bear everlasting fidelity and devotion. Adil Shah likewise offered homage and promised to send a contingent of 5,000 cavalry under Mulla Muhammad Lari for permanent Imperial service as the price of Mughal support.

Adil Shah and Malik Ambar seek Mughal alliance.

Mahabat Khan, like an astute diplomat, seems to have made up his mind to keep both the potentates in suspense until Shah Jahan had cleared out of the Deccan. A war being imminent between the two, an alliance with either was tantamount to throwing the other into cordial companionship with Shah Jahan. When the flight of the prince into Golconda removed this grave danger, Mahabat Khan decided in favour of the Bijapur alliance and the Imperial government confirmed the decision. The farman and the dress of honour sent to the king through Lashkari were received with the profoundest respects and prostrations by the king in person at a distance of four kos from the city.

Kept in suspense by Mahabat Khan.

The Mughal alliance with Bijapur.

Mulla Muhammad Lari duly came out with 5,000 cavalry to join the Imperial service. Mahabat Khan sent a strong contingent of his own to escort him safely through the intervening territory against any possible attack from the embattled array of Malik Ambar.

Mulla Muhammad Lari joins Muhabat Khan.

Alarmed at the junction of the Bijapuri and imperial contingents, Malik Ambar left Khirki, sent his family to the fortress of Daulatabad, and marched to Qandahar on the Golconda border, giving out the realization of the annual tribute as the purpose of his visit, but intent really on concluding a firm offensive and defensive alliance with Qutbulmulk to checkmate the new coalition.[1]

Waits on Prince Parvez.

The Abyssinian's distant journey enabled Mullah Muhammad to march in perfect safety towards Burhanpur. He was received with distinguished marks of favour by Mahabat Khan at Shahpur. The two together then turned to wait upon prince Parvez, who had pitched his camp at Lal Bâgh in the neighbourhood of Burhanpur, intent, in obedience to insistent Imperial mandates, on marching at the earliest possible moment towards Allahabad and Bengal against Shah Jahan's probable appearance in those quarters.

Arrangements in the Deccan.

Mahabat Khan appointed Sarbuland Rai *chargé d' affaires* in the Deccan with his capital at Burhanpur. Jadu Rai and Udai Ram who, as we have seen, had joined the Imperialists after Shah Jahan's escape into foreign territory and whose son and brother respectively were now taken as hostages, were appointed to take their quarters at Zafarnagar to defend the Balaghat. Rizvi Khan was commissioned to protect Khandesh, while suitable garrisons were posted in the numerous strongholds. Mulla Muhamamd, too, was to aid Sarbuland Rai with his 5,000 horse, while he was to send his son Aminuddin with another 5,000 cavalry to serve in the army of Prince Parvez. Rao Ratan, the valiant prince of Bundi, the incarnation of loyalty and chivalry, was also stationed at Burhanpur. As soon as the new arrangements were set in force and Mulla Muhamamd had taken his

[1] Iqbalnama, pp. 223-4. (Elliot and Dowson, VI. 411-2.)
Jahangir (R. and B.), II. pp. 295, 296.
K. K., I. 347-8.
Gladwin, pp. 70-1.

station with his contingent at Burhanpur, Parvez and Mahabat Khan set out for the north.[2]

Serious trouble at once began in the Deccan. Malik Ambar with his usual skill and dexterity realized the two years' arrears of tribute due from Golconda, concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with Qutbul-mulk and then, after a rapid march, surprised and routed the Bijapur forces in Bidar. He looted that city and advanced post-haste to Bijapur, plundering and devastating, as usual, on the way. The Adil Shah retreated in the fort of Bijapur and was at once closely besieged by Ambar.

Malik Ambar's victory over Bijapur.

Malik Amber besieges Bijapur.

The only resource now left open to the king of Bijapur was to recall his contingent under Mulla Muhammad and seek active Mughal assistance. He sent an express messenger to Burhanpur. The Mulla pressed the Imperial officers to allow him to depart and offered three lakhs of huns (nearly twelve lakhs of rupees) as the price of the permission. Mahabat Khan, though now at a long distance from the scene, thoroughly grasped the situation and promptly ordered that as many Deccani troops as could be spared should accompany the Mulla and his contingent to the relief of Bijapur. Accordingly, while Sarbuland Ray remained with some forces at Burhanpur, Mulla Muhammad with his Bijapuri contingent and Lashkar with some Imperialists hastened towards Bijapur.

Lashkar and Mulla Muhammad march to relieve Bijapur.

Malik Ambar was alarmed at this large reinforcement, opened negotiations, and repeatedly requested the Imperial commanders to leave the Adil Shah and Nizam-ul-mulk free to settle their old-standing differences between themselves, but the allies pushed on and constrained the enemy to raise the siege and retire towards his own country. Fully conscious of the danger which the powerful alliance threatened to the safety of

Ambar raises the siege of Bijapur.

[2] Iqbalnama, pp. 224–8. (E. and D., VI. 412.)
Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 296. K. K., I. 348. For Rao Ratan, Tod, II. 385-6.

his State, he made repeated overtures for peace, but Mulla Muhammad and Lashkar Khan resolved to push matters to the extreme, scorned all his offers, and pursued him into Ahmednagar territory. Driven to the wall, Malik Ambar put forth all his energy, skill, courage, and resourcefulness and made one of the supreme efforts of his genius.

Malik Ambar's victory at Bhaturi.

He surprised the enemy in their camp at Bhaturi, five kos from Ahmednagar, and inflicted a severe defeat on them. Mulla Muhammad Lari fell at an early stage of the fight and, as usual, the Bijapur forces broke up in utter disorder. 'Jadu Rai and Udai Ram fled without striking a blow, and a perfect rout followed. Ikhlas Khan and twenty-five others of Adil Khan, who were the props of his power, were taken prisoners. Of these Farhad Khan, who had sought the death of Malik Ambar, was executed; the others were imprisoned. Lashkar Khan and some other chiefs of the Imperial army were also made prisoners.' Fortunately for the empire, a few of the noted commanders succeeded in making their escape. Khanjar Khan managed to hurry to Ahmednagar, and, joined by many other fugitives, prepared the fortress for a siege. Likewise Jan Sipar Khan fled to the fort of Bir in his jagir and made ready for a siege. The rest of the fugitives sought shelter with Sarbuland Ray in Burhanpur.[3]

Malik Ambar besieges Ahmednagar.

Also Bijapur.

Malik Ambar lost no time in despatching the prisoners for safe custody in the fort of Daulatabad and in laying siege to Ahmednagar. Fortunately Khanjar Khan did not lose heart and Malik Ambar, leaving a portion of his army to maintain the siege, marched against Bijapur. Once more the Adil Shah retired into the fort and once more Ambar pressed him hard. The Malik took possession of the whole territory of the Balaghat and sent a force of 10,000 horse under Yakub Khan, an Abyssinian like himself towards Burhan-

3 Iqbalnama, pp. 236-7. (E. and D., VI. 415.) K. K., I. 348.
M. U. (Beveridge), I. 269.
Gladwin, p. 76.

pur. The Deccanis took up their quarters at Malkapur, ten kos from Burhanpur. Sarbuland Rai proposed to offer battle but was commanded from headquarters to wait reinforcements. Accordingly he shut himself up in the fort and made ready to stand a siege. At the same time Malik Ambar, bringing up his guns from Daulatabad, besieged and stormed Sholapur, 'which had long been a bone of contention between Nizam-ul-mulk and Adil Khan.'[4]

Such was the situation when Shah Jahan, passing through Orissa, Telingana, and Golconda, set foot in the Nizam-ul-mulk's territory. Needless to say, he was cordially welcomed by Malik Ambar. On the basis of common enmity to the Imperial government, as the exquisite irony of history would have it, a close alliance was formed between the two lifelong antagonists. It was settled that Shah Jahan should march with an additional force to press the siege of Burhanpur which had so far been conducted without any success by Yakub Khan. The prince threw himself heartily into the enterprise, encamped at Lal Bagh, and planned the reduction of the fort. 'Rao Ratan and the Imperial garrison in Burhanpur continuing to defend the place with valour and skill, Shah Jahan ordered two assaults to be made on different places, at the same time, one headed by Abdullah Khan and the other by Shah Quli Khan. Abdullah Khan met with such a gallant resistance that he could effect nothing, but Shah Quli Khan got into into the fort, seized the citadel and shut the gates; however, for want of support, he was at length obliged to capitulate. Shah Jahan ordered another storm, but it did not succeed. Many gallant officers and soldiers perished in these attempts. The besieged then made a sally, but were driven

Shah Jahan's arrival.

Shah Jahan besieges Burhanpur.

Assaults.

[4] Iqbalnama, pp. 237-8. (E. and D., VI. 416.)
Gladwin, p. 76.
K. K., I. 349.
Muhammad Hadi (E. and D., VI. 394-5).

back with considerable loss and amongst their slain were several Rajput chiefs, dependents of Rao Ratan.'[5]

Arrival of Prince Parvez and Mahabat Khan.

Burhanpur might have fallen within a few months had not the situation been once more changed completely by the arrival of Prince Parvez and Mahabat Khan with their victorious forces.

The triumphs of Malik Ambar had deeply stirred the Imperial government. While Shah Jahan was still in northern India, Parvez and Mahabat's forces could not be spared and, accordingly, Khan Zad Khan, son of Mahabat Khan, had been summoned with his forces from Kabul.

As soon, however, as Shah Jahan had fairly been driven out of Bihar and Bengal, Parvez and Mahabat Khan were commissioned to hurry to the Deccan. No sooner did they appear on the scene than Shah Jahan raised the siege of Burhanpur and retired to Rohangarh in the Balaghat but fell severely ill on the way. Abdullah Khan, attacked by a fit of religious devotion, brought about probably by the recent failures, renounced the world and settled at Indore to meditate on God. His absorption in the divine meditations, however, did not prevent him from sending letters, full of repentance and submission, to the Imperial court.[6]

Shah Jahan raises the siege of Burhanpur.

Retires to Rohangarh.

Abdulla Khan retires from the world.

The prospect before the prince was now perfectly dark. Neither he nor his ally could entertain any hopes of success against the grand Imperial army under the greatest soldier of the empire. Bijapur was in alliance with the empire and would afford no asylum to him. Nor could he hope to find any lasting refuge in Golconda; he was sure to be driven thence either by the Imperial forces or by the local officers on the conclusion of

Shah Jahan's dark prospect.

5 Iqbalnama, pp. 243-4. (E. and D., VI. 418.) K. K., I. 349-50.
Gladwin, p. 77.
M. U. (Beveridge), I. 269.
Muhammad Hadi (E. and D., VI. 395).

6 Iqbalnama, pp. 244, 249. (E. and D., 418, 419.)
Muhammad Hadi (E. and D., VI. 395-6.)

peace between Golconda and the Empire. He had tried his fortunes in Bengal and North India had failed disastrously. Experience forbade any better hopes of a second attempt. True, he still held Rohtas in Bihar and Asir in Khandesh, but even these strong forts were sure to be starved out ultimately, while he himself lay at a distance from either. Most of the amirs and troopers who had accompanied him from Mandu towards Delhi in 1622, had either fallen on the field or had gradually deserted. Bikramajit, a host in himself, had died a glorious death, and Darab Khan had met his tragic end. The Khan Khana, Afzal Khan, Jado Rai, and Udai Ram, like so many others, were in the Imperial service. Now his last faithful follower, Abdullah Khan, had turned a hermit. He himself had suffered severely in health and was now prostrated by illness. Under the circumstances it was but natural that he should think of reconciliation with his father. It is not necessary to accept the traditional account of the fit of repentance for his unfilial conduct which came over him during his illness, for mundane motives are enough to explain his unconditional surrender to the emperor. He wrote to Jahangir to beseech him to pardon his undutiful behaviour.

Shah Jahan's reconciliation with the Government.

Nur Jahan, on her part, had latterly grown suspicious of the immense power and prestige of Mahabat Khan and of his close alliance with Parvez and was not loth to put an end to the war. On behalf of the emperor she replied in March, 1626, that he must surrender the forts of Rohtas and Asir and must send two of his sons, Dara and Aurangzeb, to court and that then he would be pardoned and given the government of the Balaghat. Shah Jahan went out to receive the Imperial messenger, prostrated himself before the farman and placed it on his head. He unreservedly accepted all the conditions. He at once wrote to his agent, Muzaffar Khan, to surrender Rohtas and to Hayat Khan to deliver up Asir to the Imperial officers appointed for the purpose. Dara and Aurangzeb, the one a boy of ten years[7]

[7] Dara was born on Monday, March 30, 1615. Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 282.

and the other of eight, were duly sent to the court with offerings of jewels, chased arms, elephants, etc., valued at ten lakhs of rupees. They arrived at the court in Lahore in June, 1626, and were placed under the care of Nur Jahan Begam. Shah Jahan himself with his wife and his youngest son, Murad Bakhsh, proceeded to Nasik.[8]

Thus ended a civil war which had lasted over three years, cost millions of money and thrown the whole empire into confusion, led to the death of some of its greatest men, and deeply injurd the Imperial interest in Afghanistan, on the north-western frontier, as well as in the Deccan.

[8] Iqbalnama, pp. 238—45, 252. (E. and D., VI. 416—8, 419.)
Iqbalnama, p. 252. (E. and D., VI. 419.)
Muhammad Hadi. (E. and D., VI. 396.)
Gladwin, pp. 76—8.
Abdul Hamid Lahori, Muhammad Amin Qazwini, Kamghar Husaini, Mohammad Salih Kambu, 'Bakhtawar Khan,' Khafi Khan, Sujan Rai, and others generally follow Motamad Khan in describing the revolt. Among contemporary European writers, see Herbert, pp. 82—107. Peter Mundy has a brief, confused account. The English Factory Records are interspersed with references to the affair.

CHAPTER XX

MAHABAT KHAN'S *COUP DE MAIN*

THE fresh animosity between Mahabat Khan and Nur Jahan Begam, which was partly responsible for the termination of the civil war and the grant of comparatively lenient terms to Shah Jahan, had arisen from the same kind of causes that had bred such rancorous hostility between the Begam and the prince in 1621-22.

Nur Jahan and Mahabat Khan.

Jahangir's health was breaking down faster than ever and the problem of the succession had become one of the most immediate urgency. Nur Jahan had reached her forty-eighth year but enjoyed her old splendid physical and mental vigour unimpaired. She had, and as the event proved rightly, every prospect of surviving her decrepit husband for a long time. Her imperious instincts, strengthened by years of sovereign power, prompted her to perpetuate her sway. Her success against Shah Jahan only strengthened her belief in her own diplomatic skill and organizing capacity.

Health of Jahangir and Nur Jahan.

Her dominant motive of action was still to clear the path for the succession of her son-in-law, the 'good-for-nothing' Shahriyar. In 1625 the popular and charming Sultan Khusrau had been in his grave for nearly three years; the Khan Azam, who might have espoused the cause of Dawar Bakhsh, had died at Ahmadabad in 1624; Shah Jahan, the virtual vicegerent of the empire in 1621, was throughly humiliated, utterly powerless, and, what was more important, completely discredited in the emperor's eyes. In the light of the situation in 1621, her aims seemed to have been completely realized.

But a new danger had arisen. Sultan Parvez was a drunken sottish mediocrity who had, until 1623, been generally ignored in the discussions and speculations on the succession. Neither Roe nor any other contemporary observer honours him with the

Alliance between Parvez and Mahabat Khan.

slightest notice in this connection. He had lived for the most part at a distance from the court. He had been tried in the field, had been found wanting, and had been relegated to comparatively unimportant Governorships, such as that of Allahabad or Bihar. He had enlisted the support of no powerful nobles in his favour and had gathered no party about him. He was, of course, incapable of arousing any enthusiasm for himself among the masses or the classes. If he had died in 1621, he would not have been mourned like Khusrau. If he had broken into revolt in 1622, he would not have been able to command one-tenth of the following which Shah Jahan led forth from Mandu. He often thought of the succession within himself, but it is doubtful if before 1622 he ever seriously meditated a dispute with his younger brother Shah Jahan.

In 1625, however, Parvez saw Shah Jahan cleared out; he could not but feel that he was far superior to his step-brother Shahriyar. He was born of a noble, duly-wedded Muslim matron, while Shahriyar was the son of a concubine. True, the distinction was immaterial in the sight of the Muslim law; but human sentiments being what they are, it was not devoid of significance to himself and to many others. He was a man of thirty-six while Shahriyar was a boy of twenty. He could claim far greater ability and experience of men and affairs than his rival. There was no reason why he should yield to Shahriyar his claims to the throne, specially as the accession of the latter and the rule of his step-mother not only spelt his lifelong exclusion from power but might throw him into perpetual confinement or into a bloody grave.

So far he had been powerless, but now he enjoyed the friendship of his comrade-in-arms, Mahabat Khan, the boldest and most resolute man, the foremost captain and the ablest diplomat, of the empire. After his recent exploits, the whole empire stood in awe of him; the entire imperial army respected him; his own troops adored him. His resourcefulness was as remarkable as his diplomatic skill. With such a man at his back, the eldest living son of the reigning emperor might well think of superseding his youngest, 'good-for-nothing,' step-brother.

To Mahabat Khan himself such considerations must have occurred. If the choice lay between Parvez and Shahriyar, he need not have hesitated a moment in deciding for the former. Neither he nor Nur Jahan could forget that he had been bitterly hostile to her junta. He had exhorted Jahangir in the plainest terms to redeem his fame by emancipating himself from petticoat influence. They were, in fact, far too able and ambitious to suit each other in normal circumstances. It was the case of Nur Jahan and Shah Jahan over again.

Mahabat Khan knew full well that Shahriyar's accession meant his utter ruin and spelt his permanent exclusion from the higher councils of the State. If in the reign of Jahangir who, for all his faults, sincerely loved and profoundly respected him, he had been doomed to exile and fruitless mountaineer campaigning, what might he not expect after his patron's death? He found, in fact, that his interests were antagonistic to Nur Jahan's as those of Shah Jahan had been. On the other hand, the accession of Prince Parvez meant the highest advancement and power for him. It would be to him something like what Shahriyar's accession would be to Nur Jahan.

The old hostility between the Begam and the general revived in an intensified form. The former indeed had now far greater reason to dread him and therefore to oppose him. She was powerless so long as Shah Jahan's revolt continued, so long, that is, as Mahabat Khan's services were indispensable. She seized the first favourable opportunity to conclude peace with him and then with her usual audacity and skill proceeded to undermine Mahabat Khan's power. Her brother Asaf Khan, who had long been on the bitterest terms with Mahabat Khan, whom the latter had done his best to send into exile from court, and who had nothing to gain from the accession of Parvez, cordially supported her in her new venture.

As the first step, they proceeded to separate Mahabat Khan from Parvez, to deprive him of the command of the forces which nominally belonged to the prince, and to prevent him from hatching any plans in their interest. In September, 1625, while the

Nur Jahan and Asaf Khan separate Mahabat Khan from Parvez.

prince and the general were encamped at Sarangpur on their way to Burhanpur, an Imperial farman was issued transferring Mahabat Khan to the governorship of Bengal and appointing Khan Jahan Lodi to succeed him as vakil to Parvez. To the latter the order was communicated by the Imperial messenger Fidai Khan at Sarangpur. The prince, especially when aided by Mahabat Khan, must have seen through the whole plan. He declared himself unwilling to part with Mahabat or to receive Khan Jahan Lodi as his counsellor.

Fidai Khan communicated the prince's reply to the Imperial government. Nur Jahan and Asaf Khan adopted a sterner attitude and issued another farman warning Parvez against refractory conduct and calling upon him to render implicit obedience. 'If Mahabat Khan was unwilling to go to Bengal, he was to return express to court, and the prince was to stay with his amirs at Burhanpur.' Meanwhile Khan Jahan, in accordance with messages received from Fidai Khan, had started post-haste to take up his new appointment with Parvez.[1] Frightened by the tone of the Imperial mandate and unwilling to follow Shah Jahan's example and share his fate, the prince yielded. He consented to accept Khan Jahan as his vakil and to stay at Burhanpur, while Mahabat Khan agreed to go to Bengal.[2]

Charges against Mahabat Khan.

Having thus achieved one great object, Nur Jahan and Asaf Khan next called upon Mahabat Khan to send to court the elephants he was alleged to have obtained in Bengal and Bihar during the revolt of Shah Jahan and to furnish an account of the large sums forfeited to the State from the dismissal of disloyal jagirdars and, it was alleged, collected by him. An Imperial agent, Arab Dast Ghaib, was despatched to him to fetch the

[1] Iqbalnama, p. 245. (E. and D., VI. 418.) Gladwin, pp. 78-9.

[2] Iqbalnama, pp. 250-1.

elephants in question; to take an account of the disputed sums of money from him; and (it seems), if the account did not prove satisfactory, to deliver to him an order of recall to court.

Mahabat Khan could not fail to see through the insidious attempt to undermine his reputation for honesty and integrity, to rob him of his property, or to obtain an excuse to inflict the condign punishment due for embezzlement of State money. He saw clearly that his enemies were planning his utter ruin and disgrace. He must have been shocked at the flagrant ingratitude shown to him so soon after he had saved the empire from grave disasters. He knew full well that his patron Jahangir was now an invalid and hardly likely to be able to move his little finger to save his life or honour. From the character of Nur Jahan and Asaf Khan and the tenor of his own lifelong relations with them, he could judge that they would not stop until they had reduced him to nothingness.

Mahabat Khan comes with four or five thousand Rajputs.

But he was not the man to submit tamely to disgrace and insult. His bold, intrepid spirit could not rest satisfied until he had redeemed his honour. He left for the court fully prepared for any extremities to which he might be driven, taking with him four or five thousand Rajputs: he took their families also as hostages for their fidelity in face of the threats and temptations which were sure to be held out by the Government. In this threatening manner he marched towards the Imperial court.

Jahangir leaves Kashmir; arrives at Lahore; leaves for Kabul.

The emperor Jahangir had left Kashmir in September, 1625, arrived at Lahore on October 12, 1625, and set out for Kabul in March, 1626. He was encamped on the bank of the Jhelum when Mahabat Khan, having already sent the elephants he had, arrived in the vicinity of the camp. His appearance at the head of a Rajput force naturally produced something like consternation at court. No one, however, had the courage to bid him disband; he was, in reply to his intimation of his arrival, only forbidden the court until formally sum-

moned and was still commanded to send the elephants he had with him.[3]

Presently an incident at the court demonstrated more clearly than ever how deep was animosity which the ruling faction bore to Mahabat Khan and what sort of treatment he had to expect from them. Shortly before this time, he had affianced his daughter to Barkhurdar, son of Khwaja Umar Naqshbandi, without first obtaining the customary royal permission. He might reasonably have been called to account for this neglect but the ruling faction raised a hue and cry out of all proportion to the significance of the incident and determined to make it the occasion of a deep insult to him and heartless cruelty to the innocent young nobleman The latter was sent for by the emperor, that is, in the name of the emperor, was severely bastinadoed, had his hands bound to his neck, and thus, bareheaded, was remanded to prison. Mahabat Khan's dowry to Barkhurdar was forfeited to the State. Fidai Khan was duly commissioned to recover it and deposit it in the Imperial treasury.[4]

Brutal treatment of Mahabat Khan's son-in-law.

Barbarity such as this made a reconciliation, difficult in any case, totally impossible for the time being. We are nowhere told what were the plans which either party must have been resolving at this time, but an act of neglect on the part of Asaf Khan soon furnished Mahabat Khan with an opportunity to strike at the very root of his enemy's power.

Shortly after the arrival of Mahabat Khan on the scene, began the crossing of the Imperial cortege over the Jhelum. Almost all officers, soldiers, and domestics, the arms, and the treasure were safely transported over the bridge. Jahangir, his family,

The Imperial camp crosses the Jhelum.

[3] Iqbalnama pp. 252-3. (E. and D., VI. 419-20.) Maasir-i-Jahangiri (Khuda Bakhsh MS.), p. 198 (*b*).
Gladwin, p. 79.

[4] Iqbalnama, p. 253. (E. and D., VI. 420.)
K. K., I. 360.
M. U. (Beveridge), I. 302.
Gladwin, p. 79.

Motamad Khan, Mir Mansur, and a few servants and eunuchs alone remained in the camp on the left bank to cross next morning. Mahabat Khan formed the bold design of taking the emperor captive. The power of the ruling faction rested primarily on their control of the emperor. His projected *coup* would turn the tables on them and bring the emperor under his control. He knew full well that it was, in the ordinary course of things, difficult for him to obtain access to the emperor and certainly impossible to persuade him to shake off the control of Nur Jahan or Asaf Khan. The best course open to him was to seize the emperor and play the part which his enemies had played for fifteen years. The invalid emperor could no longer act for himself. If he must be controlled by somebody, why not by Mahabat Khan? Such must have been the ideas of the great general.

Mahabat Khan's *coup*.

With the projected *coup de main* in his mind, Mahabat early next morning sent 2,000 horsemen with instructions to hold the bridge, to allow no one to cross from the other side, and, in case of an armed attack, to set fire to it; while he himself with a select body of men advanced to the Imperial camp. What followed is thus described by the eye-witness chronicler, Motamad Khan:—

Motamad Khan's account.

A cry arose that Mahabat Khan was coming, and the thought occurred to me that perhaps he had gone to the door of the private apartments. Then it was said that he had left the private apartments, and had come to the State apartment, to give expression to his feelings. On reaching the entrance of my ante room, he inquired how matters stood. When his voice reached my ear, I drew my sword, and went out of the tent. When he saw me, he addressed me by name, and asked after His Majesty. I saw that he had with him about 100 Rajputs on foot carrying spears

Muhammad Hadi. (E. and D., VI. 396-7.)
English Factories in India, 1624—9, p. 151. The factors wrongly give eight or ten thousand as the number of Mahabat Khan's horse. For Barkhurdar's life, see M. U. (Beveridge), I. 302-3.

and shields and leading his horse in the midst of them; but the dust prevented me from seeing any one's face distinctly. He hastened to the chief entrance, and I entered the State apartment by a side door. I saw a few men of the guard in the State room, and three or four eunuchs standing at the door of the bath-room. Mahabat Khan rode to the door of the State room and alighted. When he proceeded towards the bath-room, he had about 200 Rajputs with him. I then went forward and in my simplicity exclaimed: "This presumption and temerity is beyond all room; if you will wait a minute, I will go in, and make a report."

'He did not trouble himself to answers. When he reached the entrance of the bath-room, his attendants tore down the boards which the door-keepers had put up for security and threw them into the middle of the State room. The servants who were in attendance informed him of this daring action. The emperor then came out, and took his seat in a palki (palanquin) which was in waiting for him. Mahabat Khan advanced respectfully to the door of the palki and said, "I have assured myself that escape from the malice and implacable hatred of Asaf Khan is impossible, and that I shall be put to death in shame and ignominy. I have therefore boldly and presumptuously thrown myself upon Your Majesty's protection. If I deserved death or punishment, give the order that I may suffer it in your presence." '

The Rajput soldiers now completely surrounded the aparatments and practically held the emperor and his few attendants, including Arab Dast Ghaib, in confinement. Smarting under the undreamt-of insult, the emperor twice laid his hand on the sword and seemed intent on cutting off Mahabat Khan's head, but he was each time dissuaded from the mad venture by Mansur Badakhshi, who said in Turkish (which Mahabat Khan could not understand): 'This is a time for fortitude, leave the punishment of this wicked faithless fellow to a just God: a day of retribution will come.' In short, 'the Rajputs occupied the royal apartments within and without so that no one but the servants could approach His Majesty.'

Apprehensive of a commotion among the people round about, who, it must be remembered, loved the emperor with a personal devotion, and would be terribly excited by any suspicion of personal injury to him, Mahabat Khan asked his captive to take his usual ride for sport, 'so that,' he added with his usual frankness, 'your slave may go out in attendance upon you, and it may appear that this bold step has been taken by Your Majesty's order.'

The emperor was in no position to disobey but he still refused to debase the Imperial dignity by mounting Mahabat's horse as the general urged him to do, and called for his own steed. At the same time he expressed a desire to go inside to dress for the hunt and probably also to consul the resourceful Nur Jahan, but Mahabat firmly refused to permit him to go in.

Procession to Mahabat Khan's camp.

The Imperial stallion was brought. The emperor mounted and moved from the tents, guarded by Mahabat Khan and his Rajputs. When they had proceded two arrow shots' distance, Mahabat urged the emperor to mount an elephant just brought forward for the purpose in order that he might be seen the better by the people. Once more the emperor obeyed. In front of the howdah sat one of the most trusted Rajput followers of the general while two others took their seats behind it. Muqarrab Khan, an adherent of the emperor, came, struggled for a seat, received in the forehead a wound whichdrenched his clothes in blood, but was ultimately crowded into the howdah beside his master. The faithful Imperial cup-bearer also came out and walked up to mount the elephant in order to supply one of the essential needs of his master. Spear in hand, the Rajputs tried to prevent him but he seized fast hold of the howdah and was ultimately allowed to mount. For want of space in the howdah, he supported himself by holding its middle part. In this fashion they had proceeded half a kos when Gajpat Khan, the master of the Imperial elephant stables, brought the Imperial elephant with himself in front of, and his son behind, the howdah. Suspecting an attempt at rescue, Mahabat Khan signalled to his Rajputs

and the two innocent men were instantly despatched. The example quieted all. In order and silence the procession advanced to Mahabat's camp where the emperor was made to dismount and placed under the guard of the general's sons.

With the emperor secure in his grasp, the general be-thought him of the Begam—the power behind the throne—whom he had, strangely enough, omitted to take under his charge at the Imperial camp. So he returned with the emperor to the camp only to discover that his prey had flown across the river. Next he proceeded with the emperor to the residence of Prince Shahriyar, but was once more disappointed to find that he too had disappeared. Chhaju, grandson of Shajaat Khan, one of the chief nobles of the emperor Akbar then present there, took the party round, but Shahriyar was nowhere to be found. Mahabat Khan, probably suspecting Chhaju's hand in his flight, signalled to the Rajputs to dispatch him.[5] At night the emperor lodged here strongly guarded by the Rajputs.

Search for Nur Jahan.

Nur Jahan Begam, whom the audacious general was so chagrined to miss, had crossed the bridge in disguise with a eunuch, Jawahir Khan, for the guard, while very strict in forbidding any one to cross over to the left bank, did not much care about isolated individuals passing to the other side.

Nur Jahan crosses the bridge.

She hurried straight to her brother Asaf Khan, sternly upbraided him, and summoned a council of all the principal amirs and officers. 'All this,' she proceeded to reproach them, 'has happened through your neglect and stupid arrangements. What never entered into the imagination of any one has come to pass and now you stand stricken with shame for your conduct before God and man. You must do your best to repair this evil, and advise what course to pursue.' It was unanimously resolved that next morning the whole

Calls a Council.

Scolds Asaf Khan and other nobles.

[5] Iqbalnama, pp. 253—60. (E. and D., VI. 420—4.) K. K., I. 356.
Gladwin, pp. 80—2.
English Factories in India, 1624—9, p. 151.

army should be drawn out in embattled array, cross the river, and deliver an attack on Mahabat Khan. Preparations for the enterprise began at once.

An attack resolved on.

When news of the resolution and the preparations reached the left bank, Jahangir perceived at once the folly of the whole venture. Mahabat's Rajputs were far too strong for such forces as the Imperialists could muster. Moreover, the bridge had been burnt, and to cross a flooded stream in the face of a powerful, well-posted enemy was something bordering on madness. It may be that Mahabat Khan himself did not like the idea of fighting Nur Jahan and Asaf Khan, for that would proclaim to the world the real nature and character of his recent *coup*. He aimed at producing the impression that the emperor had willingly entered his protection to shake off the heavy yoke of his wife and brother-in-law under which he had groaned so long in vain. Mahabat's interest would best be served by quietly capturing Nur Jahan, Asaf Khan, Shahriyar and others and rendering them harmless. Jahangir was allowed to send several messages through Muqarrab Khan and others to his followers on the opposite bank 'warning them against passing over the river to give battle, for to do so would be a great mistake, productive of nothing but evil and repentance. With what hope and what zeal could they fight while he was on a different side of the river?' In order to convince them of the genuineness of his messages, he sent his own signet ring through Mir Mansur.

Jahangir attempts to dissuade the Imperialists.

But the shame, chagrin, and ardour of the Imperial officers made them deaf to all such advice. If the projected attack would do nothing else, it would at least save them from charges of cowardice and of tame desertion of their master. Moreover they had only too much reason to suspect that all the messages and the sending of the signet itself were only the devices of the great diplomat and general. They stuck firmly to their resolution to attempt the release of their master next morning.[6]

[6] Iqbalnama, pp. 259–61. (E. and D., VI. 423-4.) K. K., I. 366. Gladwin, pp. 81-2.

Hours before the dawn however, another attempt at rescue, rivalling in its boldness the enterprise of Mahabat Khan himself, was made. Fidai Khan, who had once been a follower of Mahabat Khan, but had latterly attached himself to Nur Jahan and recently risen to prominence, galloped, on the first receipt of the news of his master's capture, to the head of the bridge and, finding it burnt, resolved to cross over under cover of the darkness and steal the emperor out of Mahabat Khan's cantonment. Along with him some two dozen of his followers plunged their horses into the river just opposite the Imperial camp. The rapid current swept away six of the men with their horses. A few others found themselves unable to proceed much further and returned to land half-dead. Fidai Khan and seven others, leaving their horses to perish, swam across to the opposite bank. The enemy, however, were too vigilant and, of course, too strong for them. Four of the intrepid band were killed, while the other four, including Fidai Khan himself, galloped back and 'repassed the river with the same dash and spirit with which they had crossed it.' Nothing daunted, they betook themselves to participate in the enterprise of the ensuing morn.[7]

Fidai Khan's attempt to rescue Jahangir.

The morning of Sunday, the 21st Jamad II (March, 1626), found the Imperialist camp all stir and bustle. Under the lead of Nur Jahan Begam, seated on a noble elephant with the infant daughter of Shahriyar on her lap, the Imperialists proceeded to cross the river. But unfortunately the ford which Ghazi, the commander of the boats, had discovered and recommended to them, proved to be one of the worst, since it contained several large, deep pools. As a result, before the middle of the stream was reached, all order and discipline was washed away. Meanwhile the opposite bank was lined by Mahabat Khan's forces in embattled array with the huge elephants in front.

21st Jamad II, 1035, 20th Farwardin, March, 1626.

M. U. (Beveridge), I.
English Factories in India, 1624-9, pp. 151-2.
7 Iqbalnama, p. 261. (E. and D., VI. 425.)
Gladwin, p. 82.
M. U. (Beveridge), I. 561-2.

The Imperialists were separated into numeruos, isolated, confused groups. Asaf Khan, Khwaja Abul Hasan, and Iradat Khan found themselves before a spot on the bank where the enemy were very strongly posted. 'Fidai Khan crossed over at a ford about an arrow-shot lower down. Abu Talib, son of Asaf Khan, and a considerable number of men passed at a ford still lower down. At times,' continues the eye-witness chronicler, Motamad Khan, 'the horses were obliged to swim, the accoutrements got wet and the harness disrodered. Some of them had reached the shore and some were still in the water, when the enemy came down upon them, their elephants leading. Asaf Khan and Khwaja Abul Hasan were yet in the middle of the river when the men in advance of them recoiled. (I was paralysed at this sight as if a millstone had been revolving on the top of my head.) No one cared for or gave ear to another, no one showed any resolution.... The officers in a panic rushed off in disorder, not knowing whither they went or where they led their men.

Confusion.

'I and Khwaja Abul Hasan had crossed one (branch of the river) and were standing on the brink of the second, beholding the work of destiny. Horsemen and footmen, horses, camels and carriages were in the midst of the river, jostling each other, and pressing to the opposite shore. At this time a eunuch of Nur Jahan's......came to us and said: "The Begam wants to know if this is the time for delay and irresolution; strike boldly forward, so that by your advance the enemy may be repulsed, and take to flight." I and the Khwaja did not wait to give an answer, but plunged into the water. Seven or eight hundred Rajputs, with a number of war elephants in their front, occupied the opposite shore in firm array. Some of our men, horse and foot, approached the bank in a broken and disordered condition. The enemy pushed forward their elephants, and the horsemen came from the rear, dashed into the water and plied their swords. Our handful of men, being without leaders, turned and fled, and the swords of the enemy tinged the water with their blood.'

Nur Jahan herself was not immune from attack. Her infant granddaughter received an arrow in the arm.[8] Her elephant, as soon as he approached the bank, received two sword cuts on the trunk and, as he turned back, was again wounded twice or thrice behind with spears. Several Rajput horsemen plunged into the river after him with drawn swords. The driver urged the wounded beast into the deeper waters. The Rajputs left their horses and began to swim, but ere long had to return for fear of being drowned. The elephant swam across to the bank. Nur Jahan Begam proceeded to extract the arrow from the infant's arm when she was joined by her maids. She returned to the camp. Khwaja Abul Hasan galloped to her aid, but in his impetuous course rushed into the river. 'The water was deep, and the stream was running strong. While the horse was swimming, he fell off, but he clutched the saddle bow with both hands. The horse went under several times, and was drowned; but the Khwaja never let go the saddle bow. A Kashmiri boatman made his way to him and saved his life.' Asaf Khan's party, too, returned in an utterly demoralized condition.

Attack on Nur Jahan.

While the main attack was thus disastrously repulsed, Fidai Khan's small party, under the inspiration of their heroic leader, performed some remarkable exploits. They reached the shore in order, discipline, and safety, and engaged the Rajput body stationed on the spot. After a brisk fight they got the upper hand and fought on to the house of Shahriyar which contained the emperor but which was very strongly guarded...... 'Fidai Khan stopped at the entrance, and sent a discharge of arrows inside. Some of the arrows fell in the courtyard of the private apartments near His Majesty, when Mukhlis Khan placed himself

Fidai Khan's bold exploit.

[8] Iqbalnama, pp. 262-3. (E. and D., VI. 425-6.) Motamad Khan does not expressly say that the infant's nurse, a daughter of Shah Nawaz Khan, was in the litter, but says that she (the nurse) received the wound in the arm.

Muhammad Hadi and others expressly assert that it was the infant that was wounded.

before the throne, and made his body a shield for the protection of the emperor. Fidai Khan persevered for some time in his efforts, but several of his followers (such as Sayyid Muzaffar and Wazir Beg) were killed, others (such as Sayyid Abdul Ghafur) were severely wounded, and the Khan's own horse received four wounds. When he found that he could not succeed, and that there was no chance of reaching the emperor, he passed through the camp and went up the river.'

So his efforts, too, came to naught. The whole enterprise had signally failed. The leaders had not the capacity to reorganize their forces nor the heart to offer further resistance. They scattered in all directions. Some of them fled away at once without even performing the duty, incumbent on them all, of defending the right bank of the river against the Rajputs, so as at least to enable the women and servants to betake themselves to places of safety. That imperative duty was left to Motamad Khan and a few others whose showers of arrows effectually prevented the enemy from crossing over to their side.[9]

Fails.

The Imperialists scatter in all directions.

Asaf Khan, the greatest nobleman of the empire, showed the greatest cowardice of all, though, it must be admitted, he had reason to be solicitous for his safety. He knew full well that he had no mercy to expect from the victorious enemy. He felt sure that he would do to him what he himself would have done, and indeed had actually designed to do, to him. There were hardly two men in the empire who hated and detested each other so cordially as Asaf Khan and Mahabat Khan. Accordingly, when the attack had failed, the former crossed over with his followers to the left bank and, utterly regardless of the interests of the rest of the camp, thought of saving his own precious life. Motamad Khan wanted them to stop, presumably to help him in the task of keeping the enemy off, but they would neither

Flight of Asaf Khan to Attock.

[9] Iqbalnama, pp. 261–5. (E. and D., VI. 425-8.) K. K., I. 370–2. Gladwin, pp. 82-3.
English Factories in India, 1624–9, p. 152.

stop nor listen but rushed on. With two or three hundred soldiers, some camp-followers and some servants, Asaf Khan fled precipitately to the fort of Attock in his jagir and shut himself up there.

Khwaja Abul Hasan, after concealing himself for a while, at length joined Mahabat Khan, swore fidelity, and even attempted to persuade Iradat Khan and Motamad Khan to follow his example. The two withstood his pressure for a while, but at last imitated his conduct and were allowed to join the emperor. On the morrow of the failure of his effort, Fidai Khan went to his sons at Rohtas.[10]

Nur Jahan surrenders.

Nur Jahan Begam, unable to bear separation from her husband for long and fully realizing that her cause was for the moment irretrievably lost, voluntarily surrendered to Mahabat Khan and was alllowed to join the emperor.

Mahabat's supremacy.

Secure on her side, Mahabat Khan now assumed charge of the machinery of government. The regular army, including the Imperial Ahadis, were duly taken under his control. For the moment, he was master of the Mughal empire, just as Nur Jahan had been before him, with this difference, that while the latter's authority over the emperor rested on love and devotion, his own had no better foundation than force. However, for the time being, his sway was well-nigh complete. He set about augmenting his treasure. The hidden wealth of his enemies, disclosed by Rai Govardhan Surajdhwaj, once a favourite servant of Itimad-ud-daulah and next steward to Nur Jahan but now the principal lieutenant of Mahabat, was confiscated.

Expedition against Asaf Khan.

Of the general's enemies Asaf Khan alone held out at Attock. But his reduction was only a question of time. Mahabat had already sent a body of Ahadis, some Rajputs, and contingents of the neighbouring chiefs, all under the command of his son, Bihroz,

10 Iqbalnama, pp. 266-7. (E. and D., VI. 428.) K. K., I. 373. Gladwin, p. 83. M. U. (Beveridge), I. 562. De Laet, p. 266. English Factories in India, 1624—9, p. 152.

and a Rajput captain, to besiege the place. Contrary to his expectations Asaf Khan was promised security of life. He was, of course, soon reduced to extremities and, relying on the word of his enemy, surrendered and 'bound himself by promise and oath to uphold Mahabat.'[11]

Mahabat resumes the march to Kabul.

The arrangements for Hindustan being completed, Mahabat Khan made the emperor resume the journey to Kabul in his company. When they crossed the Indus at Attock, Mahabat underwent the formality of receiving the Imperial permission, repaired to the fort, brought out Asaf Khan and his son Abu Talib (the future Shaista Khan), and placed them under the charge of his own men. Attock was formally occupied and garrisoned by Mahabat Khan's men. Unfortunately the incident was accompanied by several gratuitous and atrocious executions. Abdul Khaliq, nephew of Khwaja Shamsuddin, Mohammad Khwaja and Mohmamad Taqi, once the paymaster (Bakhshi) of Shah Jahan, were put to death on account of their close attachment to Asaf Khan. The most atrocious case was that of the old Mulla Muhammad Tathi, the spiritual preceptor of Asaf Khan, who was imprisoned and enchained by Mahabat Khan's orders. If the author of the Iqbalnama is to be believed, the chains, not having been well secured, slipped off his feet after a little motion and he was accused of using magic. As he always muttered verses of the *Quran*, the whole of which he knew by heart, he was accused of invoking supernatural punishment on Mahabat Khan. On these grounds, his head was severed off his body.

The Imperial cortège resumed its march from Attock and halted for some time at Jalalabad, where the emperor was visited by members of a tribe with strange ceremonies, manners, and

[11] Iqbalnama. pp. 266-7. (E. and D., VI. 428.)
M. U. (Beveridge), I. 573-4. Gladwin, p. 83. Mahabat's son was named Bihroz and not Bysanghar as stated in Maasir-i-Jahangiri.
For Rai Govardhan's life. M. U. (Beveridge), I. 572-4.
English Factories in India, 1624—9, p. 152.

customs.[12] On Sunday, the 21st Shaban, 1035 (May, 1626), the camp arrived at Kabul and the emperor, seated on an elephant, passed through the city scattering gold and silver in the usual fashion on to the famous Shahrárá garden. Shortly after he visited and prayed at the tombs of the emperor Babur, Mirza Hindal, Mohammad Hakim, and others.

28th Urdibihisht, 21st Shaban, 1035, May, 1626.

Outwardly the authority of Mahabat Khan was well established. The emperor seemed to have reconciled himself to the revolution. Nur Jahan and Asaf Khan were powerless captives. There was no strong organized party to oppose him. The numerous nobles hostile to Nur Jahan must have secretly welcomed the interruption of her sway. The Hindus felt some satisfaction and pride at the vast influence exerted by the Rajputs over the empire. The Khan Khana, one of Mahabat's bitterest opponents, was ordered to be seized while on his way to his jagir in Kanauj. Muzaffar Khan, subahdar of Agra, was ordered to keep a strong watch on Dara and Aurangzeb, then on their way to the Imperial Court. To secure the Punjab, Sadiq, a partisan of Mahabat, had been appointed governor of the province. Shah Jahan indeed had stirred but he was too weak to be dangerous. In the Deccan the great Malik Ambar,

Jahangir and Mahabat in Kabul.

[12] The author of Iqbalnama (pp. 267-8); and, following him, Khafi Khan, Kamghar, and, following him, Gladwin, state that this tribe had a remarkable resemblance to the people of Tibet. They practised monogamy unless the one wife proved barren or antagonistic in temperament to her husband. If the father took a fancy to the wife of his son, the latter was to surrender her without a murmur. Their city surrounded by a wall had but one gate. Individuals paid visits to their neighbours from over the roofs of houses. 'They refuse no kind of food, excepting pork, fowl and fish; eating the latter, they say, occasions blindness. They do not roast, but stew their meat.... The following is their form of oath: they lay upon the fire the head of a deer or goat, and when it is sufficiently burnt, hang it to the bough of a tree, where it is left; and they believe that whosoever violates this oath, will suffer some great misfortune.' The dead were buried in clean clothes, with their customary weapons on, and with the bottle of wine and cup beside them.

The emperor told them to ask of him whatever they liked. They asked and obtained a sword, some cash, a complete suit of scarlet, and a horse.

the perpetual thorn in the side of the empire, died on the 31st Urdibihisht (May, 1626), at the advanced age of eighty, and, with him, the last hope of Ahmednagar independence. The warfare on the north-western border had not ended, but the situation was well in hand. Alike at home and abroad, the great general seemed to enjoy, for the moment, a secure position.

The situation.

But sooner or later, the nobles were sure to grow jealous of his domination and long for another revolution. Sooner or later, the active, intelligent brain of Nur Jahan was sure to devise a way of emancipation for her husband and restoration to power for herself. The influence exercised by the Rajput over Mahabat Khan and therefore over the empire was another cause of irritation to other Imperial officers as well as to the rank and file.

It was indeed from this source that the first breach was effected in Mahabat Khan's power. The Muslim chroniclers accuse his Rajput followers of tyranny over the people of Kabul, which roused a deep resentment not only among the people but also among the Ahadis and Muslim troopers. Charges of this nature have always to be received with caution but it is probable that individual Rajputs, in their pride of new power, were guilty of overbearing conduct and of maltreatment of those less fortunately situated than themselves. Be that as it may, the Rajputs and the Ahadis soon came to conceive bitter hostility and dislike towards one another.

A quarrel between the Rajputs and Ahadis.

One day, some Rajputs, in violation of the general rule, turned out their horses to graze in one of the royal hunting-grounds near Kabul and were taken to task by certain Ahadis posted on guard. The parties soon came to hot words and then to arms. In the scuffle an Ahadi lost his life. His comrades sought redress at the Imperial court, that is, at the door of Mahabat Khan, who told them that if they could point out the particular offenders he would duly hold a thorough inquiry, and, if the offence were proved, would punish the guilty. The Ahadis withdrew, deeply dissatisfied with the answer which they regarded as a mere attempt at evasion. They held a con-

ference, decided to wreak vengeance on the Rajputs and, there can be no doubt, organized a general rising against them in the country. Next day they fell on a large body of Rajputs who happened to be encamped close to their own lodgings. Between 800 and 900 Rajputs, including some of Mahabat's best friends and the strongest pillars of his power, lay dead on the field. Simultaneuosly there broke out in the country a general rising which resulted in the death of many Rajputs and in the capture of nearly 500, who were carried beyond the Hindukush and sold for slaves.

When he first received the news, Mahabat Khan dared not go out in person to the scenes of disturbance, lest he should be murdered. When his forces had suppressed the risings, he brought many of the rioters to condign punishment. Jashna Khan held an inquiry. As a result, Kotwal Khan, Jamal Khan, Muhammad Khawas, Badiuzzaman, and Khwaja Qasim, brother of Khwaja Abul Hasan, in particular, were charged with having fomented the rising, were summoned and cross-examined by Mahabat Khan. Their explanations proving unsatisfactory, they were sentenced to imprisonment and wholesale confiscation of property.

Quiet was restored but Mahabat's principal force had suffered a considerable diminution and the people of Afghanistan and many of the royal troopers had been alienated from him. Add to this the jealousy of the great nobles and the ever-increasing arrogance of Mahabat Khan himself, and it is clear that there was material enough for Nur Jahan's talents for intrigue and diplomacy to work upon.[13] Her plan was two-fold: to lull the suspicions of Mahabat Khan and throw him off his guard, to win the nobles to her side. While the second part of the plan was to be executed almost entirely by herself, the first

Nur Jahan's plans to liberate Jahangir.

[13] Iqbalnama, pp. 267-71. (E. and D., VI. 428.)
Gladwin, pp. 84-5.
English Factories in India, 1624—9, p. 152. The number of Mahabat Khan's soldiers slain in the conflict is estimated at 2,000.
Even Mahabat Khan's own son, Amanullah Khan, sided with Nur Jahan's party. For his biography see M. U. (Beveridge), I. 212-9.

was to be carried out by Jahangir under her instructions. Tutored by her, the emperor impressed on Mahabat that he had always been desirous of his company and anxious to avail himself of his counsel, but that he had been helpless in the hands of Asaf Khan and Nur Jahan. He was indeed glad that he had at last found release at the hands of his faithful servant and was free to regulate his affairs according to his advice. He pretended to take Mahabat Khan into his perfect confidence and to relate to him all that Nur Jahan told him in secret. He carried his duplicity so far as plainly to warn Mahabat Khan that Nur Jahan had designs against him and that Abu Talib's wife, the grand-daughter of the Khan Khana, was eagerly waiting an opportunity to assassinate him. In word and act, the emperor expressed himself perfectly happy in his situation. He seemed to enter heartily into all his former joys. Though always guarded by Rajputs, he went a-hunting almost every day and even ordered a Qamarghas to be arranged. With Nur Jahan and other members of his family, he paid visits to saints, as he had always been so fond of doing.

Mahabat Khan deceived.

Mahabat Khan, with all his caution and cleverness, was deceived. He diminished the number of his own Rajput body-gurad. What was more remarkable, he reduced the strength of the guard placed round the emperor's residence.[14]

Nur Jahan's manœuvres.

Meanwhile, Nur Jahan had not been idle. She employed all the resources of her splendid intellect to excite the already resentful nobles against Mahabat Khan. She cajoled the unwilling, she bribed the greedy; she strengthened the wavering; she held out promises to all. She enlisted the support of many humbler men as well and organized a great conspiracy.

After sevreal weeks sojourn, the Imperial cortège left Kabul on Monday, the Ist Shahryur, 1626, for Lahore. On the way, Jahangir continued to play his part with consummate tact and

[14] Iqbalnama, pp. 274-5. (E. and D., VI. 429-30.) K. K., I. 374–6. Gladwin, p. 86.

thoroughness. As Motamad Khan puts it, 'he set Mahabat's heart at rest, and removed that doubt and suspicion with which Mahabat had at first regarded him.'

Departure from Kabul, 1st Shahr-yur, 1626.

Nur Jahan also redoubled her activities. Every day the number of her followers increased. She succeeded in posting many of them about the royal escort. She got her eunuch, Hushiyar Khan, to collect about 2,000 men in Lahore and proceed towards the Imperial camp.

Nur Jahan's activities.

When they were at day's march from Rohtas, the plot was put into execution. 'His Majesty determined to hold a review of the cavalry. He gave orders that all the soldiers, old and new, should form in two lines from the royal abode as far as they would extend. He then directed Buland Khan, one of his attendants, to go to Mahabat Khan, and tell him that His Majesty was holding a review of the Begam's troops that day. It would be better therefore for him to postpone the usual parade of the first day, lest words should pass between the two parties and strife ensue. After Buland Khan, he sent Khwaja Abul Hasan to enforce his wish more strongly, and to urge Mahabat to go on a stage. The Khwaja, by cogent reasons, prevailed upon him.' Although Motamad Khan does not say so, yet it is clear that the Khwaja's cogent arguments were powerfully aided by Mahabat Khan's conviction that the ground was fast crumbling beneath his feet, that Nur Jahan had distinctly got the better of him, and that he was powerless to stay the march of events. Practically, his 'reign of hundred days' was over.

Release of Jahangir.

He professed to obey the Imperial injunction to march a stage, but really took to flight: indeed he proceeded so rapidly that the Imperial army which followed close after him failed to overtake him. He was careful enough, however, to take with him among others as hostages Asaf Khan, his son Abu Talib, the late Prince Daniyal's sons, Tahmuras and Hoshang, and Lashkari, son of Mukhlis Khan, who was his surety.

The emperor himself passed to Rohtas, where a regular darbar was held. Thus, as the historians remark, the emperor regained his liberty on the bank of the river where he had lost it a few months before.[15] The most urgent question, obviously, was the reduction of Mahabat Khan and the release of the prominent Imperialists still with him. Seeking to connect the solution of his problem with that of another, Nur Jahan sent an imperious mandate through Afzal Khan to Mahabat Khan, commanding him to release at once Asaf Khan, Abu Talib, Tahmuras, Hoshang and Lashkari and to proceed to Thattah to combat Shah Jahan, and offering reconciliation on these terms. 'He was warned that if he made any delay in sending Asaf Khan, an army should be sent after him.'

Mahabat released the sons of Prince Daniyal, but proposed to keep Asaf Khan and his son as hostages with him until he was reasonably safe. He wrote in reply that he did not feel sure as regards Nur Jahan; that if he released Asaf Khan, he apprehended pursuit by an army; and that he would set him at liberty when he had passed Lahore. Nur Jahan Begam replied, again through Afzal Khan, that Asaf Khan must be released at once and threatened in case of delay to press matters to extremities. Mahabat Khan then released Asaf Khan after exacting a promise of fidelity from him, but still detained Abu Talib. It was only after he had marched a few stages, ostensibly towrads Thattah, that he sent him to court.

Release of Asaf Khan and others.

When the Imperial court arrived at Lahore, the reorganization of the administration was taken in hand. The difficult task was entrusted to Asaf Khan, who was appointed vakil. He was also made governor of the Punjab with Abdul Hasan as his diwan. Mir Jumla was appointed Bakhshi, being succeeded in the office of Khansama (steward) by Afzal Khan, who had rendered valuable services during the recent troubles. Muqarrab Khan was transferred

New arrangements.

[15] Iqbalnama, pp. 275-6. (E. and D., VI. 430.) K. K., I. 377-8. Gladwin, pp. 86-7.

from Cooch Bihar to the government of Bengal. On his death, which was occasioned within a few months by a squall of wind as he was going in a boat to receive the Imperial farman, the province was transferred to Fidai Khan. So utterly disorganized was the whole province that Fidai Khan was only required to despatch ten lakhs of rupees to court. Some time later Mirza Rustam Safari was appointed Governor of Bihar.[16]

[16] Iqbalnama, pp. 265–79. (E. and D., VI. 427–31.) K. K., I. 386. Gladwin, pp. 84–8. K. T., pp. 474–80.
M. U. (Beveridge), I. 562.
Muhammad Amin's Anaful Akbar contains a brief account of the *coup* which adds nothing to our information (E. and D., VI. 248-9.)
For a popular account of the revolt based on gossip, see Peter Mundy, II. 204. There is no warrant for the report that Mahabat Khan had 'Asaf Khan beaten with shoes, kept in irons.'

CHAPTER XXI

THE DECCAN: SHAH JAHAN'S MOVEMENTS

It was only natural that the sensational events which threw the Government out of gear in the north should react unfavourably on the Mughal position in the south. As we have seen, the departure of Prince Parvez and Mahabat Khan from Burhanpur in 1624, had been followed by series of successes for the Nizamshahi king. Driven to bay, Malik Ambar had made a supreme effort, subjugated all the Mughal territory south of the Tapti, and laid siege to Ahmednagar and Burhanpur. The re-appearance of Mahabat Khan on the scene of affairs had turned the tide. Shah Jahan was obliged to retire from Burhanpur and make peace with the emperor. Malik Ambar had to fall back. He would probably have suffered further and more serious reverses, had not Nur Jahan's jealousy lead to the recall of Mahabat Khan and his subsequent *coup de main*. Khan Jahan Lodi, who succeeded to the chief command in the Deccan, was not only distracted by events in the north but did not possess the energy, resourcefulness, and generalship that had enabled Mahabat Khan to withstand the guerilla tactics of which Malik Ambar was a consummate master.

Retrospect of Deccan affairs.

He might have covered himself with disgrace, had not Malik Ambar died on the 31st Urdibihisht, May, 1626, at the advanced age of eighty. His death entirely transformed the situation. It was felt on all hands that the cause of the Deccan had suffered an irretrievable loss. Even the Mughal historian, Motamad Khan, who is never tired of heaping abuse on the head of the 'dark, ill-fortuned Abyssinian slave' pays an eloquent tribute to his memory. 'In warfare, in command, in sound judgment and in administration,' he writes, 'he had no rival or equal. He well understood that predatory warfare, which in the language of the Deccan is called *bargi giri*. He kept down the turbulent spirits of that country, and maintained

Death of Malik Ambar, 31st Urdibihisht, May, 1626.

his exalted position to the end of his life and closed his career in honour. History records no other instance of an Abyssinian slave arriving at such eminence.'[1]

Peace.

He left behind him two sons, Fateh Khan and Changiz Khan, and was succeeded as regent by the former, but his authority devolved largely on one of his principal lieutenants, Yaqub Khan, also an Abyssinian slave, who was now Commnader-in-chief. Neither the regent nor the commander was equal to the double task, which had strained even Ambar's nerves, of putting down dissensions at home and confronting the Mughals abroad. On behalf of himself, Fateh Khan, and other nobles, Yaqub Khan, stationed at Jalnapur, soon opened negotiations with Sarbuland Rai on the basis of allegiance to the Mughal Emperor. Khan Jahan eagerly accepted the offer, 'wrote to Yaqub in warm and assuring terms and directed the Amirs to receive him with all hospitality and respect and to bring him to Burhanpur.'[2]

War breaks out again.

But Khan Jahan was mistaken if he hoped for a lasting peace. The next revolution in Ahmednagar politics brought to the fore another Abyssinian slave, Hamid Khan, able and unscrupulous, like so many members of his tribe. Not only the king but also the regent had now receded into the background like the Raja and the Peshwa in later Maratha history. The chief political authority went with the supreme military command which Hamid Khan now held.[3] It did not take him long to declare war on the Mughals. Khan Jahan opened the cam-

[1] Iqbalnama, pp. 271-2. (E. and D., VI. 428-9.) K. K., I. 376.
Gladwin, p. 85.
Grant Duff, I. 75.
Beale's Oriental Biographical Dictionary, pp. 237-8.

[2] Iqbalnama, p. 280. (E. and D., VI. 432.)
Grant Duff, I. 77-8.

[3] Iqbalnama, pp. 283-4. (E. and D., VI. 433.)
Hamid Khan's position was also butteressed by his wife, originally a poor maid-servant in the harem of the Nizam-ul-mulk, who procured 'Wives and daughters' for the debauched king. Nizam-ul-mulk was thus kept under control like a bird in a cage, out of doors by the Abyssinian, and indoors by his wife.'

paign with vigour and ability. Placing Lashkar Khan in charge of Burhanpur, he marched to Khirki. But, like some of his predecessors, he fell a prey to the enemy's gold. He consented to accept a bribe of three lakhs of huns[4] (nearly twelve lakhs of rupees) from Hamid Khan and in return ceded to him the whole country of the Balaghat as far as the fortress of Ahmednagar. He forthwith issued instructions to the commanders of Mughal posts and garrisons in the region to surrender the forts and territories under their charge to the officers of the Nizam-ul-mulk and themselves to repair to Burhanpur. All obeyed except Sipahdar Khan, the Commandant of Ahmednagar. 'Take possession of the country,' he told the Deccani officers, 'for it belongs to you; but I will not surrender the fort without a royal farman.' Neither arguments, nor entreaties, nor threats could prevail on him. He collected provisions on a large scale and prepared to stand a long siege.[5] He was, indeed, closely pressed, when the Emperor's death changed the situtaion.

Sipahdar prepares for a siege.

Such was the inglorious termination of Jahangir's Deccan wars, extending over practically the whole span of his reign. With the exception of two or three brilliant interludes associated with the names of Shah Jahan and Mahabat Khan, they had on the whole been grossly mismanaged. The most distressing and disreputable features were the corruption and the mutual dissensions of the Mughal officers. The struggle cost thousands of lives and millions of rupees, and brought at last no accession of territory or prestige to the empire. On the other hand, it powerfully helped the rise of a tremendous force—the Marathas, with their system of guerilla warfare, which, in spite of the triumphs and wide territorial annexations of the next two emperors, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb, ultimately contributed largely to the destruc-

Resume.

4 Hun was a gold coin nearly fifty-two grains in weight current at the time in the Deccan and equal to four rupees.

5 Iqbalnama, 283—8. (E. and D., VI. 433-4.) K. K., I 383—5.

tion of the empire. This, indeed, is the most noteworthy aspect of the Deccan transactions during this period.

Meanwhile Shah Jahan had experienced another vicissitude of fortune. On receiving the news of Mahabat's *coup* of March, 1626, he had left the borders of Ahmednagar on Ramzan 27, 1035, June 7, 1626, and marched through the pass of Nasik Trimbak towards the north with a thousand horse, half of which were furnished and commanded by Raja Kishan Singh. He hoped to enlist more recruits on the way and to fish in troubled waters to his own advantage. He gave out that he was marching to the release of his father, but there can be no doubt that he was really fighting for his own hand, with no preconceived resolution to ally himself to either side. Misfortune, however, still dogged him. Far from augmenting his army on the way, he had the mortification to lose his faithful adherent, Kishan Singh, by a natural death at Ajmere and see his 500 retainers disperse forthwith. He resolved to proceed to Thattah with the remainder of his followers, hoping there to raise a larger force. He marched through Nagor and the borders of Jodhpur and Jaisalmere, and arrived at his destination with his 500 cavalry, having received absolutely no recruits on the way.

Shah Jahan leaves Ahmednagar, Ramzan 27, 1035, June 7, 1626.

The fort of Thattah,[6] he found, had been lately rapaired, many guns had been mounted, and chosen parties of men held the various bastions, prepared to make a gorous defence. The garrison comprised between 3,000 and 4,000 horse and 10,000 infantry, commanded by the governor of Thattah, a devoted adherent of Nur Jahan, impervious to any entreaties, promises, or threats which the prince could hold out. It was plainly out of the question for Shah Jahan either to storm or starve the

Arrives before Thattah.

6 For Thattah, see Jarrett, II. 337 *n*.
De Læt tr. Lethbridge, Calcutta Review, LI. 1870, p. 94.
Withington, Purchas, IV. 171.
K. T. tr. in Sarkar's India of Aurangzeb, pp. 67-8.

fort. He clearly recognized the limits of his strength and the folly of wasting his slender following in fruitless attempts, and forbade an assault. He thought of retiring to Persia to obtain the help of his friend, the powerful Shah Abbas, with whom he had in former years maintained a friendly correspondence. It is possible that his resolution was disliked by his followers, who preferred heroic death to exile. Be that as it may, the fact stands that in flagrant violation of orders, two suicidal but heroic attempts were actually made by them.

Futile attempts on Thattah.

First of all, 'a party of his brave fellows made an attack, but the works were too strong, and the fire too heavy, so they were repulsed. Some days later, another party, unable to repress their ardour, made another attack. The ground round the fortress was level and open, with not a mound, a wall, a tree or any kind of shelter. So they placed their shields in front of them, and rushed forward. They came upon a broad and deep ditch which was full of water. To advance was impossible, to return still more so. Trusting in Providence as their fortress, there they stayed. Shah Jahan sent to recall them but they did not retire. Some of his most devoted adherents went to bring them back, but each one that went took part with them, and choosing the road to death, never returned.'

Shah Jahan's situation.

It is possible that some of these men, actually unwilling to start on a hazardous march to a distant foreign land, had recourse to desertion. Shah Jahan himself soon gave up the idea of proceeding to Persia. In the first place, the garrison of Thattah, which it was clearly impossible to reduce, might make an assault on him on his march. In the second place, he himself fell ill and found himself too weak to undertake a long journey. In the third place, he heard that Prince Parvez was hopelessly ill and thus one other rival was about to be removed from his path. In the fourth place, Mahabat's 'reign of hundred days' was over and the great general was himself a fugitive who might not disdain to make an alliance with him. Accordingly, the prince resolved to return by way of Gujarat and Berar to

the Deccan and, too weak and ill to ride on horseback, began his travels in a palki.[7]

When in Gujarat, he heard that Prince Parvez had died, a victim to alcohol like so many members of the Imperial house and court. As Motamad Khan puts it, he had faithfully followed his father in ways of eating and drinking but was not gifted with the same natural constitution and powers of endurance. He lost his bodily and mental vigour and was hopelessly decrepit at the early age of thirty-seven. During the last few months of his life he suffered terrible agony. 'He was first attacked with colic, then he became insensible, and after medical treatment, fell into a heavy sleep.' The physicians cauterized him in five places on the head and forehead. He awoke to conciousness but relapsed into coma again. At last on Safar 6, 1036, October 28, 1626, he died in his thirty-eighth year.[8] His body was carried to Agra and buried in one of his gardens. The Khan Khana was commissioned to send his family to court. His death occurred at such a psychological moment that it was universally ascribed to poison administered by Shah Jahan.[9]

Parvez dies, Safar 6, 1936, October 28, 1626

Whether it was so or not, the news certainly accelerated Shah Jahan's pace. Following for a while the route pursued by Mahmud Ghaznavi in his march to Somanath, he arrived at last on the bank of the Narbada which he crossed at the Champner

Shah Jahan hurries to the Deccan.

[7] Iqbalnama, pp. 273-4, 280—2. (E. and D., VI. 429, 432-3.)
Gladwin, pp. 85, 88.
Muhammad Hadi (E. and D., VI. 397.)

[8] Iqbalnama, pp. 273, 279-80. (E. and D., VI. 429—32.) K. K., I. 382. Maasir-i-Jahangiri (Khuda Bakhsh MS.), p. 205 (*a*).
Gladwin, p. 88.
Beale's Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p. 310.

[9] Tod (I. 294; II. 33) ascribes the death of Parvez to Khurram, though no mention of poisoning is made. English Factories in India, 1624—9, p. 152. The Rev. Edward Terry echoes the suspicion.
'How do you,' wrote the Emperor Aurangzeb, in one of his letters to his captive father, 'still regard the memory of Khusrau and Parvez, whom you did to death before your accession and who had threatened no injury to you?' Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, III. 155.

ferry, twenty kos from Ahmedabad. Traversing the hilly country which formed part of the domains of the Raja of Baglana, and passing through Rajpipliya, he reached Nasik Trimbak where he left his stores and equipage and a number of men to guard them. As no good houses were available there for his residence, he took up his quarters at a short distance at Khaibar.[10]

On the way the prince had received and accepted overtures for an alliance from Mahabat Khan. The general, soon after releasing Abu Talib, had for a while pursued the road to Thattah, according to his promise, but then, probably apprehending a pursuit, turned towards the east.

Mahabat Khan's convoy of treasure.

He had expected a convoy of twenty-two lakhs of rupees from Bengal which he hoped would enable him to gather a large force again around him and to retrieve his fortunes. Unluckily for him, the Imperial Government had received news of the treasure as it neared Delhi. A thousand Ahadis, under Ani Rai Singh Dalan, Safdar Khan, Sipahdar Khan, Ali Quli Darman, and Nuruddin Quli, were at once despatched to seize the convoy. Marching post-haste, 'they fell in with it near Shahabad. The men in charge with their cartloads of money took refuge in a serai, barricaded it, and showed a determination of holding out to the last. After a good deal of fighting the royal troops set fire to the serai, and got possession of it when its defenders fled.' Accordingly when Mahabat Khan's agents went out to meet the convoy of treasure, with instructions 'either to bring it after him, or bear it out of the Imperial territory,' they found that the bird had flown away.[11]

Plundered.

There is certainly reason for suspicion particularly in view of Shah Jahan's past and future record, but the evidence in this particular instance is not adequate to justify downright assertion. Shah Jahan was too far off. Parvez had already ruined his constitution. The details of his illness point as much to alcohol as to poison.

10 Iqbalnama, pp. 280–2. (E. and D., VI. 432-3.) Gladwin, p. 88.

11 Iqbalnama, pp. 277–9. (E. and D., VI. 431, 434.) Gladwin, p. 89.

Deprived of the money and pursued hotly by a large army which Nur Jahan sent after him as soon as the Imperial hostages, including Abu Talib, were safely out of his hands, Mahabat Khan sought refuge in the forests and hills of Mewar. Thence he made overtures through faithful adherent to Shah Jahan proposing complete reconciliation and alliance, or, in the official jargon, declaring that, on receiving an assurance of full pardon, he would enter into his service. Naturally, Shah Jahan fell in with the offer with his heart and soul and replied in a most gracious letter impressed with his own hand. Shortly after, Mahabat Khan, passing through Rajpipliya and the territory of the Bihara, joined Shah Jahan at Khaibar (Junnair?) with 2,000 cavalry. He presented to the prince a thousand mohurs, a diamond worth Rs. 20,000, and other valuable articles. In return he received an elephant, a horse, a sword, and a dagger inlaid with precious stones. The news of the alliance of these two able men alarmed Nur Jahan. She appointed Khan Jahan Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial forces and commissioned him to suppress them.[12]

Alliance between Mahabat Khan and Shah Jahan.

English Factories in India, 1624–9, p. 149. Letter from Robert Tottle at Serhind to John Bangham at Lahore, November 8, 1626. O, and C. 1238, Herbert (ed. 1638, p. 101) basing his account on De Laet, p. 269, says that the treasure amounted to twenty-two lakhs of rupees.

12 Iqbalnama, pp. 277–9. (E. and D., VI. 431, 434.)
Gladwin, pp. 89, 90.
English Factories in India, 1624–9, pp. 153, 204.
Gladwin, p. 90.

CHAPTER XXII

JAHANGIR'S LAST DAYS
THE STRUGGLE FOR THE THRONE

Jahangir's health. Visit to Kashmir.

AFTER his release from the clutches of Mahabat Khan, the Emperor, unable to bear the heat of the approaching summer of Lahore, left for Kashmir in March, 1627, accompanied by Nur Jahan, Asaf Khan, Shahriyar, and Dawar Bakhsh, amongst others.

Even 'the paradise of the earth,' however, could no longer do him any good. His asthma took a more violent and dangerous turn and his life was despaired of by the physicians. A panic spread through the camp. Though, thanks to his natural vitality, he recovered at the time, yet the complaint continued in a grave form. Every day saw him weaker. His appetite failed him completely. Even opium was now too much for him. A few cups of grape wine were all that he could endure. Riding was impossible; a palanquin was the only conveyance for him.[1]

Shahriyar's illness.

About the same time Prince Shahriyar was attacked by dau-s-salab (Fox's disease), a species of leprosy. He lost all his hair, not only of the head but also of whiskers, eyebrows, and eyelashes. The physicians could do nothing to cure him. He was at length advised to change the cold climate of Kashmir for the warmth of Lahore and accordingly set out thither.[2]

Shortly after, the Emperor himself left for Lahore. As he reached Bairamkala,[3] his old hunting-ground, he felt a longing

[1] Iqbalnama, pp. 290-1. (E. and D., VI. 435.) Maasir-i-Jahangiri (Khuda Bakhsh MS.), p. 215 (*b*). K. K., I. 388.
Gladwin, p. 90. K. T.

[2] Iqbalnama, pp. 291-2. (E. and D., VI. 435.) K. K., I. 388.
Gladwin, pp. 90-1.

[3] This place is now known as Bahramyulla or Bahramgul and is spelt as Baramgala in the map which illustrates the route into Kashmir and Jammu in Sir Richard Temple's Diary. [See p. 808 (*a*)]
It is now a small place containing a few houses, but it is probably Jahangir's hunting-ground which still serves as the camping-ground for

for sport once more and, as it chanced, for the last time.

An unfortunate incident.

Resting his matchlock on a wall, built for the purpose, at the bottom of a high mountain, he fired at the deer which the country people were engaged to drive thither. A foot-soldier busy in providing game for the Emperor happened to run too close to a precipice, and, his foot slipping, fell down the mountain-side to be dashed to pieces. The incident shook the Emperor to the depths of his being. He called for the mother of the deceased and gave her money to support herself. But nothing could remove his remorse and his depression. He fancied that the death of the poor man was really the visit of the angel of death to himself. The thought of death haunted him incessantly and he sank into despair. His complaint assumed a graver form than ever. He could no longer sleep or feel at ease for a moment.

The day after the incident, the Imperial cortège encamped at Thanah.[4] The next stage was Rajauri on the bank of the Tavi.[5] Towards the close of the day, on Safar 27, 1037, they

tourists. 'It is,' writes Sir Richard Temple in his diary, 'a sweet spot, almost the nicest I was ever encamped upon. Close by our tent there rushed through very deep rocky banks the torrent called Chitha pani or the white water, which rises in the Pir Panjal range, and is joined by the Bodhaganga stream....about half a mile below Bahramgul. It is a torrent of extraordinary force; it rages, seethes, foams and dashes in the wildest and most fantastic manner throughout its whole course. Its gradient is extremely steep and consequently its surface is perfectly white, whence its name.' Temple, Journals kept in Hyderabad, Kashmir, Sikkim and Nepal, Vol. II, p. 19. See also the Itinerary on p. I. See also I. G.

The description corresponds well with that penned by Jahangir when he visited it in 1620. (Jahangir, R. and B., II. 179.)

4 Gladwin, (p. 91) calls it Tahneh. In Temple's Diary it is called 'Thunna or Thun,' Vol. II. p. 14. See also the Itinerary on p. 1.

It is called by its real name by Jahangir when visited in 1620, though certain manuscripts and printed text perverts it into Thattah.

Jahangir remarked at the time of his earlier visit that this stage formed the climatic, linguistic, and cultural boundary between Kashmir and the plains. The people here spoke both Hindi and Kashmiri. (Jahangir, II. 180.)

5 It is generally written as Rajapur in the Persian as well as modern, histories. Temple thus describes its present situation and the old surviving Imperial serai:—'On the edge of the bank, looking straight down on to the river, is an old summer house of the Imperial times, and from it the colours

left Rajauri for the next stage, Chingiz Hatli near Bhimbhar. On the way the Emperor went from bad to worse and showed alarming symptoms. He called for a glass of wine; they placed it at his lips, but he was unable to swallow. During the night he grew still worse and expired in the early hours of the morning of Safar 27, 1037, October 28, 1627, in the fifty-eighth solar year of his age and the twenty-second of his reign.[6]

Jahangir's death, Safar 27, 1037, October 28, 1627.

The struggle for the succession at once entered on its final stage. Its detailed account belongs to the history of Shah Jahan, but a general sketch may here form the conclusion of our story.

The struggle for the succession.

Nur Jahan summoned the nobles to a conference but Asaf Khan, always at heart a partisan of Shah Jahan, suspected a treacherous plot and prevented the meeting. He placed the empress herself in a sort of imprisonment, and despatched an express runner, Banarasi, with his signet ring to Shah Jahan in the

Asaf Khan's diplomacy.

of the water, as it flows over its rough bed, are splendid beyond description—every hue of russet and emerald and purple! The rush of water keeps up an incessant roar, which is, however, grateful to the ear. The city of Rajauri on the opposite bank is very prettily situated, and contains the old serai and the lofty houses of the dispossessed Rajauri chiefs of the old line ....' Journal, II. 10-11.

6 Iqbalnama, pp. 292-3. (E. and D., VI. 435.) Maasir-i-Jahangiri (Khuda Bakhsh MS.) 217 (*b*).

K. K., I. 338.

Gladwin, p. 91.

Abdul Hamid's Padshahnama, I. 69. (E. and D., VII. 5.)

Curiously enough, Chingiz Hatli is as Chakkar Hatli by Muhammad Hadi.

Chingiz Hatli is given as Jangaz Hatli in Alam Arai Sikandari, as Chatklar Hatli by Shahnawaz Khan, M.U. It is not named at all by Khafi Khan and Abdul Hamid Lahori. At present it is called Changiz serai. In the description of Jahangir's return from Kashmir in 1620 the printed text names it as Chanki Hatli.

The ruins of the Imperial resting-house may still be seen. 'The gateway' wrote Sir Richard Temple in 1859, 'which is of brick, is covered with weeping grass, and a plant that has the same effect as ivy. The walls too are covered all round with parastic plants and creepers, the old masonry and the foliage combined having a very picturesque appearance. Like the other serais there is an entrance and two enclosures....

'The building is a ruin, with a small part roughly fitted up for European travellers.' Diary, II. 8-9. See also the Itinerary on p. 1.

far-off Deccan and, for the interval which must necessarily elapse before the prince's assumption of supreme power, proclaimed Dawar Bakhsh emperor, as a mere sacrificial lamb in concert with Iradat Khan, lately created Khan Azam, and placed, at Shahriyar's request, in charge of the Emperor's grandson. The nobles in the Imperial camp almost unanimously sided with Shah Jahan and fully supported Asaf Khan in his 'stratagem of proclaiming Dawar Bakhsh in order to secure the accession of Shah Jahan.' Steps were also taken to get Shah Jahan's sons out of Nur Jahan's apartments.

All this had been done on the very day of Jahangir's death. Next day they reached Bhimbhar,[7] close to the plains, where the Khutba was formally read in the name of Dawar Bakhsh, where the funeral rites for the late Emperor were duly performed and whence the corpse was despatched under escort to Lahore to be interred in Shahdara in the Dilkusha garden of Nur Jahan.[8]

Under the circumstances it was hardly possible that the Emperor's remains should receive a funeral befitting his rank.

Jahangir's Funeral.

Quietly he was laid in the spot designated by his beloved wife. Here in time the widowed empress erected a magnificent mausoleum at her own expense. It is thus described by Fergusson:—

'The tomb is in the middle of a large walled garden about 540 yards square, extending to sixty acres, originally with gateways on each side—that from the court of

Jahangir's Tomb.

the serai on the west having a marble arch and being about fifty feet high. The mausoleum in the centre

The serai, which lies so dilapidated to-day, is most probably the same as was constructed by a chela, Murad, at the Imperial command in 1620. 'In the middle of the royal abode there was a fine terrace, superior to those of other stages.' Jahangir, R. and B., II. 181.

7 Bhimbhar lies just beyond the frontier of the modern Gujarat d'strict of the Punjab. It is now a small village. The ruins of the old Imperial serai may still be seen. Temple Diary, II. 2—4. It was also one of the hunting grounds of Jahangir. (R. and B., II. 181.)

8 Amal Salih 205. Iqbalnama, pp. 294-5. (E. and D., VI. 435-6.) K. K., I. 389-90.
Abdul Hamid's Padshahnama, I. 69. (E. and D., VII. 5, 6.)
Gladwin, pp. 90-1.

stands on a low plinth, 256 feet square and itself consists of a terraced platform, 209 feet square and about twenty and a half feet high, with octagonal minarets of three storeys above the terraced roof, surmounted by white marble cupolas, and rising eighty-five feet from the plinth. It is surrounded by arcades, having a central arch flanked by a doorway and five other arches on each side; the arcades have behind them forty rooms in all, through one of which on each side a passage leads through other two oblong apartments into the tomb chamber, which is thus enclosed in nearly solid walls of masonry fifty-six feet thick on all sides. The sarcophagus is of white marble inlaid with pietra dura work and stands in an octagonal chamber of twenty-six and a half feet diameter and about twenty-one feet high. On the roof over this is a raised platform fifty-three feet square with a tessellated marble pavement, the marble parapet of which was carried off by Ranjit Singh, but has now been restored. The building is of red sandstone inlaid with marble, and the details are all in excellent taste, but the long low façade between the minars is not architecturally very effective.' No dome was erected over the mausoleum, for the Emperor, ever a lover of natural beauty, had expressed a wish for his tomb to lie in the open so as to be refreshed with rains and dews.[9]

Even before the Emperor's body was finally laid to rest, swords had been drawn to contest the succession to his power. Nur Jahan had been placed under guard and barred from communication with the world, but she had already contrived somehow to send a message to Shahriyar, 'advising him to collect as many men as he could, and hasten to her.' Her son-in-law, urged, we are told, also by his intriguing wife, lost no time in proclaiming himself emperor at Lahore. He seized the royal treasure there and in the course of the next week distributed

[9] Fergusson, II. 304-5.
Abdul Latif's Lahore, pp. 104—8. Latif has reproduced the inscriptions and chronogram.
K. T. (tr. in Sarkar's India of Aurangzeb, p. 82).
Imperial Gazetteer, Lahore.

no less than seventy lakhs of rupees to secure the allegiance of old and new nobles and to enlist troopers.

Shahriyar's bid for Sovereignty.

He was joined by one of the sons of the late Prince Danyal, Mirza Baisanghar, who now assumed the command of his forces.

As Asaf Khan and Dawar Bakhsh, keeping one day ahead of Nur Jahan, advanced towards Lahore with their forces in battle array, Shahriyar, while himself remaining with 2,000 or 3,000 men in the vicinity of Lahore, sent Baisanghar with the rest of his men to give battle. As might have been expected, Baisanghar's men, largely raw recruits knowing full well that they were fighting for a doomed cause, gave way at the first attack from the old tried regulars of the State.

Asaf Khan's advance opposed by Shahriyar.

Shahriyar's forces defeated.

When he received news of the reverse from a Turki slave, Shahriyar foolishly shut himself up in the fortress. The Imperialists had not to waste many days in a regular siege, for some of Shahriyar's followers, false to the money they had received and the oaths they had sworn, betrayed his cause, made terms with Azam Khan for themselves, and admitted him at night into the fort. Next day the Imperialists entered the fort in full force. Like the coward that he always was at heart, Shahriyar took shelter in the female apartments, but was soon brought out by a eunuch. He was made to perform the regular bows and homage, thrown into prison, and blinded in a few days.

Siege of Lahore.

Surrender.

Thus ended the short struggle. If Nur Jahan had been free to act, she might have prolonged the affair, but even she could hardly have succeeded in the end.[10]

10 Amal Salih, 208, 211-2.
Iqbalnama, pp. 295—7. (E. and D., VI. 436-7.) K. K., I. 390—5.
Padshahnama, I. 69, 70, 72, 74 (E. and D., VI. 5—9). Of the seventy lakhs of rupees squandered by Shahriyar, forty-five lakhs was recovered after his fall. Every history of Shah Jahan's reign contains an account of the struggle. Sujan Rai (Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh) and Bakhtawar Khan (Mirat-ul-Alam) practically summarize Khafi Khan. So also M. U., I. 154.

Meanwhile, Banarasi, covering the long distance in twenty days, had delivered the news of Jahangir's death to Shah Jahan at Junair on the 19th Rabi I, 1037. The prince at once abandoned the proposal to march to Bengal which he had been discussing with Mahabat Khan. After observing a mourning of four days, he set out on the 23rd Rabi I, to Agra by way of Gujarat to avoid Khan Jahan Lodi, the recalcitrant viceroy of the Deccan.[11]

Shah Jahan leaves for Agra.

While still on the way, Shah Jahan sent a farman to Asaf Khan 'to the effect that it would be well if Dawar Bakhsh, the son, and (Shahriyar), the useless brother of Khusrau, and the sons of Prince Daniyal, were all sent out of the world.' On the 2nd Jamad I (10th Bahman), Shah Jahan was formally proclaimed Emperor, the Khutba being read in his name at Lahore, and Dawar Bakhsh was thrown into prison. On the 26th Jamad I, January 23, 1628, of the same month, Shah Jahan's atrocious order was duly carried out and Dawar,[12] his brother Gahrasp, Shahriyar, Tahmuras, and Hoshang were sent out of the world.

Passing through Mewar, where he was loyally received by Raja Karan at Gogunda and where he celebrated his thirty-eighth solar birthday once again with the old pomp and splendour, he reached Ajmere on the 19th Jamad I, and found himself in the environs of Agra on the 26th. Next day he entered the metropolis in truly regal magnificence and was hailed as Emperor by all.[13]

Shah Jahan reaches Ajmere, 19th Jamad 1, 1627.

Reaches Agra 26th Jamad 1, 1627.

11 A false story was current in the seventeenth century that Shah Jahan was detained by the King of Bijapur and escaped only by pretending death. See Mundy, II. 212-3. Tavernier, I. 338-9. Manucci (ed. Irvine), I. 180-1. Latif's Agra, p. 32.

12 Olearius in his Ambassador's Travels, p. 190, states that he saw Bulaqi, the son of Khusrau. Elphinstone, p. 575, believes the story. See also English Factories in India, 1630-3, p. 33. But it is wholly unreliable, being opposed to a mass of clear Persian evidence. The so-called Bulaqi was only an impostor whom it suited the designs of the Persian court to recognize for the time being.

13 Iqbalnama, pp. 298—306. (E. and D., VI, 437-8.) Abdul Hamid's

Of the powerful personages of his father's reign, Man Singh, Aziz Kokha, Abdur Rahim Khan Khana, Islam Khan, Jahnagir Quli Khan, had passed away. Mahabat Khan was appointed Governor of Ajmere, created Khan Khana and Sipahsalar. He lived to enjoy the rank of 9,000 zat and suwar, duaspah-siaspah. Nor did Asaf Khan fail to obtain all that he hoped from the accession of his son-in-law. He was appointed vizier, created Yamin-ud-daulah, raised to the rank of 8,000 zat and suwar and finally to 9,000 zat and suwar duaspah-siaspah, and employed in various high missions of trust and responsibility. He died in 1641 and was buried close to his brother-in-law, in whose history he had played so prominent a part.

New arrangements.

Nur Jahan finally quitted the stage she had dominated so long. Her romantic life experienced one more turn of fortune. It was once rumoured that she had been put to death. The powers-that-be, indeed allowed her to live but sought to wipe out all memory of her erstwhile sway. The coins stamped with her name were promptly withdrawn from public circulation. She herself was content to accept a pension of two lakhs of rupees a year from the man whom she had advanced to the pinnacle of fortune and then dashed to the ground, but whom destiny had now raised to empyrean heights, in spite of her. Henceforward she wore only white cloth, abstained from parties of pleasure, and lived privately in sorrow, chiefly at Lahore, with her daughter, the widow of Prince Shahriyar. She survived her husband full eighteen years, dying on Shawal 29, 1055 A.H. Her funeral was a modest one. She

Fate of Nur Jahan.

Her death.

Her tomb.

Padshahnama, I. 69—82. (E. and D., VII. 5, 6.) K. T. (Delhi edition), p. 483.

For the circumstances attending Shah Jahan's march from the Deccan to Agra and his accession, see besides the Persian histories of his reign, English Factories in India, 1624—9. pp. 160, 191, 202-3, 205, 206-7, 227-8, 239—42; Manucci, I. 181-2; Herbert, p. 108; Van den Broeck, p. 108; Tod, I. 296. Also Bir Vinoda. For a short clear account, Blochmann, Calcutta Review, 1869, pp. 145—53.

was laid in a tomb beside that of Jahangir, which she had built for herself.[14]

[14] Abdul Hamid's Padshahnama, II. 411. (E. and D., VII. 69-70.) English Factories in India, 1624—9, pp. 240—2.

CHAPTER XXIII

CONCLUSION

It is not difficult to sum up Jahangir or to strike his account with history, but, as a statesman has said about another, 'one must take adequate means and scales.' Jauntily to dismiss him as a hard-hearted, fickle-minded tyrant, soaked in wine and sunk in debauch, as more than one modern writer has done, is at once unscientific and unjust. His fame has been eclipsed by the transcendant glory of his father and the dazzling splendour of his son. His memory has suffered from the implicit faith reposed in historical forgeries and travellers' tales. His career has been viewed and judged in isolated passages.

Wrong view of Jahangir.

From a review of his life as a whole, he comes out a sensible, kind-hearted man, with strong family affections and unstinted generosity to all, with a burning hatred of oppression and passion for justice. On a few occasions in his career as prince and emperor, he was betrayed, not without provocation, by fits of wrath into individual acts of barbarous cruelty.[1] But, as a rule, he was remarkable for humanity, affability and open hand.

His character.

His religious views perplexed his contemporaries and posterity alike. There were those who regarded him an atheist or an eclectic, a devout Muslim or a Christian at heart, sunk in superstition or a scoffer at all faiths. As a matter of fact though devoid of deep reli-

Religious views.

[1] Thus he writes, 'On the 22nd, when I had got within shot of a nilgaw, suddenly a groom and two bearers appeared, and the nilgaw escaped. In a great rage I ordered them to kill the groom on the spot, and to hamstring the bearers and mount them on asses and parade them through the camp, so that no one should again have the boldness to do such a thing.'

See also Hawkins' Voyages. Purchas, III. 38—40.

Roe, pp. 215, 303-4, 388.

Terry, p. 407.

Jourdain, pp. 166-7. It was on account of such incidents that Jahangir's temperament seemed to Terry 'to be composed of extremes; for sometimes he was barbarously cruel, and at other times he would seem to be exceedingly fair and gentle.'

gious feeling, and too enlightened to be satisfied with mere dogma or superstition, he was a sincere believer in God and in God's saints, living or dead, Hindu or Muslim. Popular Hinduism with its doctrine of the incarnation of God appeared 'worthless' to him. Christ's parentage, poverty, and crucifixion were incomprehensible to him.[2] He knew little of the reformed sects, Muslim and Hindu, that had grown up in his empire and was content to find satisfaction in meditation on

[2] Terry, p. 389.

'So much does he honour the memory of our blessed Lord, whom he calls Hazrat Isa that is, the Lord Jesus, as no Mahomedan prince [which he is reported to be; but he (is) not] in the world does the like; therefore Christians live with more liberty and security in his country than they do (in any) Mahomedan kings' dominions.' Salbancke, Letters Received, VI. 188.

The testimony of all other visitors is to the same effect. For example. Coryat says, 'He speaketh very reverently of our Saviour and all Christians, specially us English he uses so benevolently as no Mahomedan prince the like.' Crudities Unpaged. Purchas, IV. 474.

There appears some mixture of bazaar rumour in what William Finch wrote in July, 1610. 'All this month there was much stir with the king about Christianity, he affirming, before his nobles that it was the soundest faith and, that of Mahomet, lies and fables. He commanded also three princes, his deceased brother's sons, to be instructed by the Jesuits and Christian apparel to be made for them, the whole city admiring. Purchas, IV. 40.

That he did not believe in the prophet is proved by the fact that in the course of a long, detailed diary, full of prayers, invocation, and thanksgiving to God, references to saints and jagirs, he does not make even a few references to Muhammad. He orders a translation of the *Quran*, which is against orthodox Muslim practice. He revels in pictures of living beings, particularly human beings, another act of blasphemy in the eyes of orthodox Muslims. He continued the celebration of the Nauroz and the ceremony of prostration. He usually dates his diary not according to the Hijri but according to the Persian era. He presents, what no othodox Muslim would ever dream of, hogs to Christians.

Letters Received, IV. 10.

The Italian Manucci reproduces the belief current in certain quarters in the latter half of the seventeenth century, that Jahangir was inimical to the Muslim religion and that he violated the fast of Ramzan, in drinking wine and eating pig's flesh, means of scoffing at Mahomedans, and that he would give portions 'to those who seemed to him the most bigoted in order to make them break their fast.' Manucci further says, what is certainly false and preposterious but still significant, that Jahangir 'ordered the casting of several figures of pigs in solid gold which he kept in his palaces, and when he awoke from sleep, on seeing those images, he used to say that he would rather see the figure of a pig than the face of a Mahomedan.' Storia Do Mogor, I. 158-9.

the one God, in reverence for saints, in the society of ascetics and in the observance of religious ceremonies. Intellectually he owed allegiance to the Sufism or Vedantism on which he delighted to converse with Jadrup and other sages.[3]

Nor could current popular Hinduism make any stronger appeal to him, in a discussion held with learned Hindu Pandits on the doctrine of the incarnation of the divinity he argued that. 'This pernicious idea requires that the Sublime Cause, who is void of all limitations, should be possessed of length, breadth and thickness. If the purpose is the manifestation of the Light in these bodies, that of itself is existent equally in all created things, and is not peculiar to these ten forms (of the divine incarnation). If the idea is to establish some one of God's attributes, even then there is no right notion, for in every faith and code there are masters of wonders and miracles distinguished beyond the other men of their age for wisdom and eloquence.' After a great deal of discussion, the Pandits took up the position that the incarnations were an aid to the realization of the one God of Gods, with neither body nor accidents. Still unconvinced, the Emperor asked, 'How can these forms be a means of your approaching the Deity? He reverts to the subject again when the sight of a Hindu idol, with a human trunk and a pig's head, representing the primeval incarnation of God in the form of a pig calls forth the epithet of 'worthless' for the Hindu religion.

Attitude towards Hinduism.

Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 32-3.

Price (p. 44) has a fuller but less authentic report of the discussion.

Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 254.

In disgust, as also partly in deference to Muslim sentiment to which the form of pig is anathema, he ordered the idol to be broken and thrown into the tank close by. He also demolished the abode and broke the idol of a Jogi at hand who was trading on the simplicity and credulity of the poor folk. The Jogi himself was turned out.

When visiting the temple of the goddess Durga at Kangra in 1622, he remarks: 'A world has here wandered in the desert of error.' Speaking of the Raja who brought back the black stone taken away by certain Mahomedans long ago from the temple he says that the Raja 'started again the shop of error and misleading.' Jahangir (R. and B., I. 254-5; II. 224-5.)

[3] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 189, 246, 249, 267, 268, 329, 361, 381; II. 25, 94-5, 100, 176, etc.

'Some time,' writes Roe, 'he (Jahangir) will make profession of a Moor (Muslim); but always observe the holidays and do all ceremonies with the Gentiles too.' Embassy, p. 314; also pp. 192, 391.

Terry, p. 286.

For predictions of astrologers, see Jahangir, I. 149; II. 152, 160, 203.

See Bernier, pp. 161, 244, 245.

His book of omens with marginal notes in his own handwriting is preserved in the Khuda Bakhsh Library, Bankipore.

Professor Blochmann, in his effort to label Jahangir's religious moods and feelings under accepted categories, fell into the error of thinking that Jahangir 'from weakness of mind and nature' was incapable of settled religious belief, 'and yet he was by fits a devout Muslim, a good Hindu, a

The popular preachers and fanatics were deemed dangerous to the stability of the social and political order and were harshly dealt with. The execution of Arjuna, the fourth Sikh Guru, has been represented as a persecution but it was due to political reasons. Jahangir was certainly prejudiced against Sikhism, but he refrained from a religious persecution. He confined Shaikh Ahmad of Sirhind and Shaikh Ibrahim Baba for a few years in the State prisons of Chunar and Gwalior, but the predominant reason of the injustice was the influence which they wielded on their devoted Afghan and other Muslim disciples.[4] He passed an order of persecution against the Shwetambar Jains of Gujarat because their leader Man Singh had, on the outbreak of Khusrau's revolt, prophesied the downfall of Jahangir's empire within two years

Religious policy.

decided Parsi and his accession to the throne not from any religious fit but solely from reasons of secular policy, but a good Hindu or a decided Parsi or a member of Akbar's Divine Faith (whatever it may have been) he never was. Nor did he, as the great Orientalist supposed, vacillate 'from motives of almost childish fear from one belief to another.' His belief, whatever it was, whether crude or enlightened, was constant through the major portion of his life. Nor is the whole truth expressed by the learned professor's dictum that 'Superstition was his religion.'

Calcutta Review, 1869, Vol. XCVIII, pp. 139-40.

4 In 1619 he summoned to his presence a noted Muslim preacher, Shaikh Ahmad of Sirhind, who claimed to be the Mahdi, the prophet so anxiously expected by the Mahomedans since the completion of the first Muslim millennium and who had developed a peculiar system of theology and devotion. Jahangir found him extremely proud and self-satisfied, with all his ignorance. His book, *Maktubat,* he judged to be an 'Album of Absurdities' containing many unprofitable things' which drag people 'into infidelity and impiety.' The poor Shaikh was handed over to the Rajput Anirai Singh Dalan to be imprisoned in the forteress of Gwalior, usually reversed for political prisoners. In the case of the Shaikh, it is more than probable that Jahangir anticipated trouble from the spread of his doctrine. However, after two years, when he professed repentance for his errors and promised loyalty, he was not only set free but also given a dress of honour and considerable sums of money more than once.

Shaikh Ahmad of Sirhind.

A similar religious movement in the neighbourhood of Lahore had been suppressed in 1606 by the imprisonment of its founder, the Afghan Shaikh Ibrahim Baba, in the fortress of Chunar. Here, again, the danger had been partly political. The Shaikh, whose doings were 'disreputable and foolish,' had gathered a large band of Afghans round him.

Shaikh Ibrahim Baba.

Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 77; II. 91—3, 161, 276.

My inquiries after Shaikh Ahmad's book have proved futile.

and because their homes were reputed, though wrongly, to be hot-beds of sedition and immorality. Some time after the order was withdrawn.

On his accession to the throne his promise to a section of his supporters to uphold Islam constrained him to adopt for a few months an attitude rather harsh to some people and uncongenial to himself. He shunned for a time the society of Jesuit missionaries, though he soon restored them to old favours. He forcibly circumcised two young Armenian Christian lads, though he soon allowed them to profess Christianity and advanced one of them to high rank and office. He allowed Christian missionaries to preach and convert freely in his empire. He restored the Muslim kalama (creed) on his coins but only for two or three years.[5] With a few exceptions, then, his religious policy was one of complete toleration. He eulogised in his diary and followed in his rule the maxim of 'peace with all' laid down by his father.[6]

[5] Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 438.

Ibid., I. 11. Lane Poole, Catalogue of Indian Coins, LXVIII.

DuJarric, XVII, 147-8, 150—7. Pyrard de Laval Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 252.

The Persian chronicles do not mention the withdrawal of the order against the Jains but the Jain works of the period are clear on the point.

The full story of Mirza Zulqarnain is translated with comments by Father Hosten in the Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. V, No. 4, pp. 115—94. His name is mentioned by most of the European travellers. Terry, pp. 424-5. Peter Mundy, II. 379. Manucci, I. 172-3, etc.

He was appointed superintendent of the Government salt work at Sambhar lake. Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 194-5.

[6] On this point the testimony of European visitors, coming as they did from a continent still a stranger to religious freedom, is emphatic and decisive. 'All religions,' writes Terry, 'are tolerated and their priests held in good esteem. Myself often received from the Mughal himself the appellation of Father with other many gracious words, with place among the best nobles!'

'He (Jahangir) is content with all religions,' says Roe, 'only he loves none that changes,' though, as we learn from Terry, conversion did not mean loss of favour. Della Valle noticed that Hindus and Mahomedans 'live all mixt together and peaceably, because the Grand Mughal....although he be a Mahomedan (but not a pure one as they resort) makes no difference in his dominions between the one sort and the other, and both in his court and armies, and even amongst men of the highest degree, they are of equal account and consideration,' though he adds the Mahomedans had some little more of authority.

Administration.

It is no light praise that the general administration of Jahangir was conducted on the principles of the great Akbar. No wiser course could have been pursued. Sir Henry Elliot has drawn up a strong indictment of Jahangir and argued in particular, that his celebrated institutes were neither original in conception nor effective in practice.[7] The first charge may be admitted at once, but is it a charge at all? Originality in administrative organization is extremely rare. Neither Akbar nor Sher Shah had much of it. The test of a statesman consists not in originality but in adoption and adaptation of ideas and practices. It is true, again, that the imperial ordinances were not uniformly carried out but the responsibility rests with the inherent circumstances of the case. No Government in the middle ages, with a large area under its jurisdiction, could make its authority effectively felt on the borders. Until his health failed him, Jahangir exerted himself manfully to shield his subjects from the oppression of his officers.[8]

Jahangir's intemperance.

Much has been written on Jahangir's drinking-bouts. He has described them with his own pen in a perfectly candid style. It is, however, a mistake to accept unquestioningly all that Hawkins and Roe have said on the subject. In the second place, it is only fair to judge him by the temper of his circle and times. It was an age when many a prince and many a nobleman fell a prey to alcohol. Mirza Muhammad Hakim, Princes Murad, Danyal and Parvez, Sher Khan, Shah Nawaz Khan, Jalaluddin Masud, to name only a few, literally died of drink. Though Jahangir regarded 'a little wine' as a 'prudent friend,' he discouraged its

Terry, Purchas, IX. 52.

Roe, p. 324.

Della Valle, I. 30. For the amusing case of Della Valle's Persian servant who, in ignorance of Mughal policy, hastened to change his creed, see Della Valle, I. 126-9. See also p. 52 for Jahangir's opinion that a man may be served in every faith.

7 E. and D., VI, note C. pp. 493—516.

8 *Ante*, Ch. IV.

use among his subjects His attempt to discourage smoking was futile but was prompted by laudable motives.[9]

Humanitarian ordinances.

Three years earlier he had issued another humanitarian farman prohibiting the horrid practice of making and selling eunuchs which was specially prevalent in Sylhet in Bengal (now in Assam). Capital punishment was to be inflicted on those who violated this regulation. Shortly after, when Afzal Khan, the Governor of Bihar, forwarded a number of offenders to court, they were sentenced by the Emperor to lifelong imprisonment. But Jahangir did not persevere in his noble attempt. He himself continued to employ eunuchs. His pious hope that in a short time the reprehensible practice would entirely cease came to nothing. Indeed, the abominable institution introduced into the Muslim world by the Omayyad caliphate from the degenerate Byzantine court could disappear only with the aristocratic harem which had brought it into being.[10] There is no need to pass the other ordinances of Jahangir in review. They are informed by a humanitarian and enlightened spirit and reflect

[9] A. N. (Beveridge), III. p. 703.
Badauni (Lowe), II. 357.
Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 35, 134, 141-2; II. 87.

Another curious prohibitory farman may be noticed here. Tobacco, which had been introduced into India during the reign of Akbar and which had in a short time penetrated into all towns and villages among all classes of the population, was deemed by the emperor as sure to bring 'disturbance' to 'most temperaments and constitutions.' Its use was accordingly forbidden, but the farman was little regarded by the people.
Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 370-7.
K. T., p. 454.
Terry, p. 96. Fryer, p. 52.

For the Indian smoking-pipe or hukka, see Terry, p. 96; Fryer, III. 149. For another way of smoking, Bowrey, Countries Round the Bay of Bengal, p. 97. See also Letters Received by the East India Company, I. 300. For a detailed account of the introduction of tobacco at the court of Akbar, see Asad Beg, Wiqaya (E. and D.), VI. 165-7.

One of Jahangir's contemporary sovereigns, Shah Abbas of Persia, also prohibited tobacco while another, James I. of England, published a counterblast against it.

[10] Jahangir (R. and B.), II. 150, 151, 168.

Aurangzeb (Sarkar, III. 90-1) also prohibited castration but, like Jahangir, continued to employ eunuchs in his own service. His prohibition was equally futile

credit on their author. Though sometimes evaded, they were not wholly without effect.

Policy of conciliation.

In the sphere of high politics, his policy of conciliation was abundantly justified in Bengal and Mewar. He failed in the Deccan; but the failure is hardly to be regretted, for success would have been fatal to the Empire.

Jahangir's weakness.

The mastering weakness of Jahangir's life and career was a tendency to fall under the influence of those round him who loved him and who won his love. His friends ruled him in the last years of Akbar's reign and prompted him into revolt. The Nur Jahan junta ruled him for ten years. Nur Jahan alone controlled him for the next five years. They never departed from his general principles of domestic or foreign policy, but their ambitions convulsed the Empire. Jahangir cannot escape the responsibility but it is only fair to point out that the worst evils occurred only on the breakdown of his health. If he had retained his vigour during his last years, he might have asserted himself and prevenetd the double civil war.

Conclusion.

Jahangir's reign, on the whole, was fruitful of peace and prosperity to the Empire. Under its auspices industry and commerce progressed; architecture achieved notable triumphs; painting reached its high-water mark; literature flourished as it had never done before; Tulsidas composed the Ramayana, which forms at once the Homer and the Bible, the Shakespeare and the Milton of the teeming millions of Northern India. A host of remarkable Persian and vernacular poets all over the country combined to make the period the Augustan age of mediaeval Indian literature. The political side of Jahangir's history is interesting enough but its best virtue lies in cultural development.

APPENDIX A

NOTE TO CHAPTER I, p. 8

AFTER the death of Shaikh Salim Chishti and the erection of the famous cenotaph over his remains, the Emperor Akbar assigned the revenue of a number of villages for the upkeep of the tomb, the performance of religious services, and the maintenance of the saint's descendants. Till 1846 the persons charged with the administration of the endowment continued to manage the revenue affairs of the village. In the year 1846 the British Government of the day passed certain orders regarding the manner in which the endowment fund should be administered. These are contained in a letter from the Secretary to Government, N. W. P., to the Officiating Secretary to the Sadar Board of Revenue, No. 3346 of 1846, dated the 14th of August, 1846, a copy of which is on the record.

'It was decided that this arrangement should not continue as settlement had been made by the Government with the proprietors and it was directed that in future the revenue should be paid into the Government treasury and the fund applied under the supervision of the Collector in accordance with the instructions contained in the letter. In this letter it was declared that the tomb of the saint was a national architectural monument which it was the duty of the Government to keep in repair and a portion of the fund was definitely allotted for that purpose.

'Instructions were next given for the disbursement of a definite portion of the fund to meet the cost of the religious ceremonies for which the Emperor had provided.

'And, lastly, a specified amount was set aside to be applied in the maintenance of the saint's descendants regarding whom it was declared that they were pensioners of the Government entitled to draw their pensions in perpetuity from the treasury. It was laid down that they were to be registered and treated as such and we understand that this arrangement continues to the present day.'

[Extract from a judgment of the Allahabad High Court, delivered in February, 1922, on a case touching the pension allowed to one of the descendants of Shaikh Salim Chishti.]

APPENDIX B

NOTE TO CHAPTER IV, p. 92

A RESPECTED Muslim Pir (or religious guide), whose family migrated from Afghanistan to Sindh, refused to prostrate himself before the Emperor Jahangir. He was thrown into prison, but the Emperor soon repented of his harshness, released the Pir and begged his pardon. The lineal descendants of the Pir still count among their followers from ten to twelve lakhs of persons.

[See the report of the trial of Pir Mujadid held in the Sessions Court, Karachi, on October 29, 1921.]

APPENDIX C

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. Contemporary Persian Chronicles

Abul Fazl's Akbarnama

The 'Akbarnama' of the celebrated Shaikh Abul Fazl Allami. Published in three volumes by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. It is being translated into English by Henry Beveridge. Fasciculi of the translation are being published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in the Bibliotheca Indica Series since 1897. Volumes I and II are complete. Ten fasciculi of the third volume have been published, bringing down the translation to the 627th page of the original and the narrative to the year 1592. A number of passages selected from all the three volumes are translated in Elliot and Dowson's 'History of India as told by its own historians,' Vol. VI, pp. 21—146. An abridged manuscript translation by Lieutenant Chalmers, of the Madras Army, is in the Royal Asiatic Society, London. It has been used by Elliot and Dowson, Elphinstone, Count von Noer, and others. Abul Fazl's own narrative comes down to 1602, the year of his death.

The 'Akbarnama' is our prime authority for the birth, education, some marriages, ranks, and many incidents in the early life of Prince Salim and his brothers. The dates are specially valuable.

Inayat Ullah's Takmil Akbarnama.

Inayat Ullah's 'Takmil Akbarnama,' the continuation of Abul Fazl's great work to the close of Akbar's reign. Published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal and partly translated into English by Lieutenant Chalmers along with the principal work. The important passages are translated in E. and D., VI. 103—15, and some others are transcribed in von Noer's 'Akbar.' The work ranks as one of the principal original authorities for Salim's revolt, Abul Fazl's murder, the Afghan rising in Bengal, the

Deccan war, the illness and death of Prince Daniyal, the pursuit of Bir Singh Deo, and the illness and death of Akbar. It has, however, suppressed some important details.

Nizamuddin's Tabaqat-i-Akbari.

Khwaja Nizamuddin Ahmad Bakhshi's 'Tabaqat-i-Akbar Shahi,' better known as 'Tabaqat-i-Akbari,' comes down to the year 1593-4. Published by the Nami Press, Lucknow, 1875. Nearly the whole of the account of Akbar's reign is translated in E. and D., VI. 247—476. It gives a few details about Prince Salim's early life not to be found in Abul Fazl. Its dates are to be received with caution, but the work, as a whole, ranks among the best Persian histories and the most reliable sources of our information. The work is now being edited and published in the Bibliotheca Indica Series.

Abdul Qadir Badauni's Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh.

Abdul Qadir Badauni's Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh' or Abstract of Histories. Published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. Translated into English, Part I, by Lieut.-Colonel Ranking; Part II, by W. H. Lowe and revised by E. B. Cowell; and Part III, by Lieut.-Col. Haig, still incomplete. All published in fasciculi by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Portions of the work are also translated in E. and D., V. 482—549 and in Blochmann's version of the 'Ain-i-Akbari,' pp. 168—209. The political narrative is mainly based on Nizamuddin, but some additional facts are given. Badauni alone mentions the incidents of Akbar's illness in 1591, his suspicions of foul play on the part of Salim and the latter's vigilant watch on the movements of Prince Murad. The third part gives the lives of saints and learned men and is valuable for the history both of Akbar and of Jahangir.

Firishta's History.

The 'Tarikh' by Muhammad Qasim Hindu Shah, better known as Firishta, composed about 1612, is one of the best known Persian histories of India. Translated by John Briggs under the title 'History of the Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India' in 1829. Reprinted by Cambray and Co., Calcutta, 1908. The work comes down to the close of Akbar's reign. For Prince Salim's

personal history it only confirms the information supplied by other writers. It is chiefly valuable for the Deccan wars in Akbar's reign.

The 'Wiqaya' or Halat-i-Asad Beg, by the famous servant of Abul Fazl, is the standard authority on the murder of the great man and the pursuit of the murderer, Bir Singh Bundela. It also gives a clear account of the conspiracy to set aside Salim in favour of Khusrau; of Akbar's death and of Jahangir's accession. The most important passages are translated in E. and D., VI. 150–74.

Asad Beg's Wiqaya.

Muhammad Amir's 'Anfaul Akhbar' or 'the most useful chronicle' gives a valuable account of the dealings of Akbar with Prince Salim during the last years of his reign. Some passages are translated in E. and D., VI. 244–50.

Muhammad Amir's Anfaul Akhbar.

The other histories of Akbar's reign, such as the 'Zubdat-ut-Tawarikh' by Nur-ul-Haq; the 'Tarikh-i-Alfi' by Maulana Ahmad and others; the 'Akbarnama' by Shaikh Illahdad Faizi Serhindi, do not give any additional information about Salim.

The works to be noticed presently, particularly the 'Maasir-i-Jahangiri,' throw some light on the life of Salim the Prince, though they are concerned principally with his reign.

The 'Ain-i-Akbari' by Abul Fazl. Edited by Blochmann and published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in the Bibliotheca Indica Series. An imperfect translation was made by Francis Gladwin and published in London in 1800. The standard translation is that by H. Blochmann, Vol. I, published in 1873, and by H. S. Jarrett, Vols. II and III, published in 1891 and 1894, respectively, at Calcutta, by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The 'Ain' will always form the foundation of the study of the Mughal Administration. Blochmann's notes are particularly helpful. The second volume is a storehouse of geographical and economic information.

Abul Fazl's Ain-i-Akbari.

The 'Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri' or Memoirs of the Emperor himself. It is variously called Tarikh-i-Salim Shahi, Tuzuk-i-

Jahangiri, Karnama-i-Jahangiri, Waqiat-i-Jahangiri, Dayaz-i-Jahangiri, Iqbalnama, Jahangirnama and Maqalat-i-Jahangiri.

The Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri.

There is another version, to be noticed presently, which was translated by Major David Price in 1829. On the authenticity of either version there raged a long controversy in which Sir H. Elliot, Prof. Dowson, De Sacy, Dr. Rieu, Morley, and others took part. It is now settled beyond all possibility of doubt that Major Price's manuscript represents a forgery and that the Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, as published by Sayyid Ahmad Khan, forms the real memoirs.

The work is common in India. It was first published by Sayyid Ahmad Khan at Ghazipur and at Aligarh in 1864. It has been translated into English by Rogers, the rendering being revised, edited, and annotated by Henry Beveridge.

The memoirs of the first twelve years, when finished, were bound in handsome copies and presented to his officers, the very first copy being given to Shah Jahan. In the seventeenth year of his reign, the Emperor, suffering from illness and growing weaker every day, entrusted the task of writing the memoirs to Motamad Khan, who brought them down to the beginning of the nineteenth year. The oldest extant, though incomplete, copy of the work is that preserved in the Oriental Khuda Bakhsh Library, Bankipore, which was seized by Prime Muhammad Sultan, the eldest son of Aurangzeb, from the Library of the Qutb-Shahi king of Golconda, in A.D. 1656.

The translation of the first twelve years' account was published by the Royal Asiatic Society, London, in 1909, and the remainder in 1914. Portions are translated in E. and D., VI. 276—391. A small part was translated by Anderson in the Asiatic Miscellany in 1786.

Jahangir's diary forms the prime authority for the study of his reign and his personality. Full accounts of the riots and rebellions, wars and conquests are given. The imperial regulations are reproduced in full. All the important appointments, promotions and dismissals are mentioned. Sketches of the principal nobles and officers are drawn in a lifelike manner.

Epidemics are vividly described. All curious happenings in all parts of the Empire, duly communicated by the intelligencers, are recorded. The Emperor's own daily life is revealed with candour and frankness, only a few incidents, such as his revolt against his father and the circumstances of Prince Khusrau's death, being glossed over.

The Tarikh-i-Salim Shahi.

The 'Tarikh-i-Salim Shahi,' translated by Major David Price of the Bombay Army, was published by the Oriental Translation Committee of the Royal Asiatic Society under the title of 'Memoirs of the Emperor Jehangueir, written by himself and translated from a Persian manuscript.' A reprint was published by the Bangabasi Press, Calcutta, in 1906. The name of the author is unknown. On several points it is fuller than the genuine memoirs. But the work as a whole is a fabrication. Unfortunately, it was relied on by Elphinstone and other writers. It has done more than anything else to spread the false view of Jahangir's character still current. Manuscript copies of the original may be consulted in the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Library, Bankipore, and elsewhere.

Motamad Khan's Iqbalnama.

Motamad Khan's Iqalnama', in three parts: the first deals with the history of the Timurid dynasty till the death of Humayun, the second with the reign of Akbar, and the third with the entire reign of Jahangir and the accession of Shah Jahan. The first two parts are scarce, but the third, commonly known as 'Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri', is common enough. It is often confused with the 'Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri'. It was edited by Maulawis Abd Al Haii and Ahmad Ali under the superintendence of Major W. N. Lees and published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, in the Bibliotheca Indica Series, in 1865. The portions dealing with the punishment of Khusrau's followers, the Nur Jahan ascendancy, the plague, the comet of 1618, and the events of the last four years are largely translated in Elliot and Dowson's History, VI, 393–438. The whole work deserves translation. I have carefully compared the printed text with three manuscripts which I was able to secure.

Muhammad Sharif Motamad Khan, who held the post of Bakhshi or paymaster in Jahangir's reign, was concerned in the affair of Shah Jahan's revolt and was present at the Imperial camp when Mahabat Khan captured Jahangir. He took part in the subsequent effort to release him. On many matters he writes with the authority of an eye-witness. He completed his work after Jahangir's reign. Hence in his account of the last years he writes as a partisan of Shah Jahan and adopts a tone of bitterness and hostility towards Nur Jahan. Nevertheless he is our primary authority for the period which is not covered by Jahangir. For the first eighteen years of Jahangir's reign, his account is very often the same as in 'Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri'. For Motamad Khan's life, see M. U., III. 430.

Kamgar's Maasir-i-Jahangiri.

Khwaja Kamgar Ghairat Khan's 'Maasir-i-Jahangiri,' composed in the third year of Shah Jahan's reign, and, at his request. The work has never yet been printed. I have used the manuscript in the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Library, Bankipore. Two extracts dealing with the murder of Abul Fazl and the proceedings of Shah Jahan after Mahabat Khan's *coup* are translated in E. and D., VI. 442–5. It forms the foundation of Gladwin's 'Reign of Jahangir,' Calcutta, 1788. The life of Jahangir, before his accession to the throne, occupies one-sixth of the 'Maasir' and forms the most important portion of the work as it supplies information contained neither in Jahangir nor in Motamad Khan. The rest of the book is mainly based on the 'Tuzuk' and 'Iqbalnama.' As might be expected, the author writes as a partisan of Shah Jahan, in whose reign he rose to the governorship of Thatta and the mansab of 3,000.

The Intikhab-i-Jahangir Shahi.

The 'Intikhab-i-Jahangir Shahi,' by an unknown author. From the contents it is plain that the author was a servant of the Emperor Jahangir. Some portions are translated in E. and D., VI. 447–52. It supplies fresh information on Jahangir's charities and mode of life, Khusrau's punishment, and gives Mahabat Khan's protest against the Nur Jahan supremacy.

The 'Pand Nama-i-Jahangiri' consists of Jahangir's maxims and regulations pertaining to private and public life. It throws light on Jahangir's character. I have consulted the Rampur manuscript. The work is also included in the Khuda Bakhsh copy of the 'Tarikh-i-Salim Shahi.'

Pand Nama-i-Jahangiri.

The 'Makhzan-i-Afghani' or Tarikh-i-Khan Jahan Lodi was composed by Niamat Ullah out of the material collected by Haibat Khan of Sámáná at the instance of the famous Afghan captain, Khan Jahan, about the year 1612. Translated by Bernhard Dorn under the title 'History of the Afghans' and published by the Oriental Translation Fund. Some portions, dealing with the history of the Lodi Sultans of Delhi and of Sher Shah, are translated in E. and D., V. 71–115. Towards the close of Part I the author deals with the Afghan rising in Bengal during the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir. This is the only part of the work valuable for the history of Jahangir.

Makhzan-i-Afghani of Niamat Ullah.

The 'Shash Fath Kangara' or the Six Conquests of Kangara, by Muhammad Jalal Tibatiba, a clerk of the Emperor Shah Jahan. The work has never yet been printed. I have used the Allahabad University copy made from one in the Nawab of Rampur's Library. The gist of the whole work is given in E. and D., VI. 518–31. The author relates the story of the conquest of Kangara in 1620 in six different styles and ascribes the achievements to Prince Shah Jahan. It gives some details not to be found elsewhere.

The Fath Kangara by Muhammad Jalal Titatiba.

The 'Maasir-i-Rahimi' by Muhammad Abdul Baqi Nihawandi describes the pedigree, life, and exploits of the great Abdul Rahim Khan Khana. It is valuable for the Khan Khana's Gujarat, Sindh and Deccan campaigns. It gives the lives, and copious extracts from the compositions, of the numerous poets, who, like the author himself, flourished under the Khan Khana's patronage. Part I has been published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. The whole work deserves publica-

The Maasir-i-Rahimi.

tion and translation. A good manuscript is preserved in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

The following two works dealing primarily with the history of the Emperor Shah Jahan supplement the foregoing historians in their description of Prince Shah Jahan's exploits and of the events of the last years of Jahangir's reign:—

Abdul Hamid Lahori's Badshahnama.

Abdul Hamid Lahori's 'Badshahnama,' the principal history of Shah Jahan. Published by the Bengal Asiatic Society in the Bibliotheca Indica Series in two volumes. Partly translated in E. and D., VII. 5–72.

Muhammad Salih Kambu's Amal-i-Salih.

Muhammad Salih Kambu's 'Amal-i-Salih.' Published by the Bengal Asiatic Society in the Bibliotheca Indica Series. The work is a history of Shah Jahan from his birth to his death. A few passages dealing with his last years are translated in E. and D., VII. 124–32. For the events of Jahangir's reign the author has drawn principally from the foregoing works but views everything from his hero's standpoint.

The other chronicles of Shah Jahan's reign touch on the period of Jahangir but supply no fresh information.

II. Later Persian Chronicles

Sujan Rai's Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh.

The 'Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh' by Sujan Rai Khattri, a native of Patiala. A general history of India up to the accession of Aurangzeb, composed in 1695-6. It has recently been edited and published by Muhamamd Zafar Hasan, B.A., at Delhi. I have carefully compared the portions dealing with Jahangir with a manuscript which I had procured before the publication of the printed text. My references are to the printed edition. One passage is translated in E. and D., VIII. 10–12.

The author has often borrowed, almost verbatim, from Jahangir and Motamad Khan, but occasionally gives fresh information. His account of Shah Jahan's revolt is clear and straightforward. The topographical description of the Mughal

Empire, in many respects the most important part of the whole work, is translated in Jadunath Sarkar's 'India of Aurangzeb.'

The Mirat-i-Alam by Muhammad Baka.

The 'Mirat-i-Alam,' composed by Muhammad Baka, but commonly ascribed to his patron, Bakhtawar Khan, in the middle of Aurangzeb's reign, is a universal history with special reference to India. The manuscript which I have used devotes some twenty-five pages to the reign of Jahangir. A few portions dealing with Aurangzeb's charity, his manners and habits, the provinces and their revenues, etc., are translated in E. and D., VII. 156–165. It does not add much to our information.

Khafi Khan's Muntakhab-ul-lubab.

Muhammad Hashim Khafi Khan's 'Muntakhab-ul-lubab' was composed in the fourth decade of the eighteenth century. Manuscripts of the work are common enough. The whole of the work has been edited by Maulavi Kabir-al-Din Ahmad and published by the Bengal Asiatic Society in the Bibliotheca Indica Series in 1869. After a brief account of the house of Timur, the author gives a pretty full history of the succeeding emperors. The account of Jahangir's reign, covering pp. 244–394 of the printed text, is based mainly on Jahangir, Motamad Khan, and Kamgar, but partially on other authorities some of which are lost to us. Khafi Khan judiciously utilized all the sources of information available to him. He shows himself a master of Persian expression and clear, simple, straightforward narration. The portions dealing with the reigns of Aurangzeb and his successors are translated practically in full in E. and D., VII. 211–533. Elphinstone and Grant Duff speak of a manuscript translation of the work nearly up to the end of Jahangir's reign by Major A. Gordon of the Madras Army. As this manuscript seems to have disappeared, a fresh translation is desirable.

Muhammad Hadi's Tatimma Jahangiri.

In the first half of the eighteenth century Muhammad Hadi, after transcribing Jahangir's memoirs of eighteen years, composed a continuation called 'Tatimma Waqiat Jahangiri,' bringing down the narrative to the emperor's death. It is based almost entirely on Motamad Khan. The work is commonly

appended to the Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri. A few passages are translated in E. and D., VI. 393–9.

Tarikh-i-Alamara-i-Abbasi.

'Tarikh-i-Alamara-i-Abbasi' is a valuable history of Persia. It has not yet been printed but its MSS. are very common in India. It views mediæval Indo-Persian relations from Persian standpoint.

The Maasir-ul-Umara.

The 'Maasir-ul-Umara,' an invaluable biographical dictionary of Mughal nobles in alphabetical order from the days of Babur to the eighth decade of the eighteenth century, compiled from Persian histories, by Samsamuddaulah Shah Newaz Khan and his son Abdul Haq. Published by the Bengal Asiatic Society in three parts, each comprising two volumes. Henry Beveridge began translating the work into English according to the English alphabetical order. Six fasciculi have been published so far.

The biographies of Jahangir's nobles have been mainly derived, sometimes verbatim, from Abul Fazl, Jahangir, Motamad Khan, Kamgar, Khafi Khan, and Abdul Hamid, but some additional facts and details are given from works no longer available. The author gives a large number of anecdotes and traditions which throw light on the manners and customs of the times. Blochmann based his lives of the grandees of Akbar's court mainly on the 'Maasir.'

Beale's Miftahut Tawarikh.

Thomas William Beale's 'Miftahut Tawarikh,' lithographed at Agra in 1849, contains the dates of all important events in Asiatic Muslim history in chronograms, together with short accounts of sovereigns, administrators, poets, etc. Its principal value consists in the determination of the chronology. The events and personages of Jahangir's reign are dealt with on pp. 308–43.

Numerous other later Persian chronicles notice the reign of Jahangir but the notices are practically worthless.

III. Contemporary Hindi Works

Keshava Das, reckoned one of the nine jewels of Hindi literature, flourished during the reign of Jahangir and composed the charitra or life of his patron Bir Singh, the Bundela murderer of Shaikh Abul Fazl, about the year 1664 of the Vikrama era or 1607 A.D. His language is rather Sanscritized and stands midway between the Braj Bhasha of the country round Agra and Muttra and the Bundelkhandi dialect of the districts south of the Jumna. 'Bir Singh Deo Charitra' lacks the fire and concentrated vigour of the author's 'Ram Chandrika' or the sweetness and elegance of his 'Rasikpriya' but, from the historical point of view, it is the most valuable of his works. It is, as might be expected, replete with fulsome eulogy but gives some information about the life and exploits of the Bundela chief. The work is practically unknown outside Bundelkhand. It comprises 194 pages.

Keshava Das's Bir Singh Deo Charitra.

Keshava Das also composed a long eulogy, which pretends to be a life, of his patron's patron, the Emperor Jahangir. 'Jahangir Chandrika' resembles the 'Bir Singh Deo Charitra' in point of language and style but adds nothing to information derived from Persian histories. It is valuable, however, as showing what a great Hindu poet thought of his sovereign.

Keshava Ras's Jahangir chandrika.

Many old families in Jaipur, as in other Rajput States, possess manuscript genealogical tables and chronicles of ruling dynasties. Apparently dry and jejune, they often reveal unexpected treasures of historical lore. For Amer, I consulted with profit a manuscript, 'Amer Raja Banshavali,' in the possession of Purohit Hari Narain, B.A.

Amer Raja Banshavali.

The numerous Hindi literary works composed in Amer (the modern Jaipur) during the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir and still preserved in manuscripts with the descendants of old priests, poets, and nobles, are all prefaced by grandiloquent

accounts of Raja Man Singh's exploits, related as if they emanated from an independent monarch. They show how deeply the Hindu mind and Amer pride were stirred by Man Singh's feats in arms.

N.B.—It is understood that the Palace Library of His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur contains a most valuable diary of Raja Man Singh. Unfortunately, no student is permitted to look at it.

Jain Manuscripts.

Manuscripts of numerous Jain works composed in the vernaculars during this period, are preserved in the Jain Seddhant Bhavan Arrah in Bihar and in the Rajputana States. The writers assert that Jain teaching made a powerful impression on the mind of Akbar. In their prefaces many of them eulogise the justice of the Emperor Jahangir and thank him for the peace and prosperity he maintained. It is from them that we learn of Jahangir's withdrawal of his command for the expulsion of Jain priests from Gujarat.

Nain Singh ki Kvhat.

Of the voluminous contemporary bardic literature of Rajputana, one of the best known works is 'Nain Singh ki Khyat.' In the usual heroic strain, it celebrates the exploits of Mewar heroes who warred with the Mughals. I consulted a copy in the possession of Munshi Debi Prasad of Jodhpur.

The Adi Granth

The Adi Granth, the scriptures of the Sikhs, mainly in Guru Mukhi, edited by Guru Arjun, contains a great deal of biographical matter, occasionally of immense historical value. It gives the story of the so-called martyrdom of Guru Arjun in 1606.

A Hindi translation of the work has been published by the Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow.

IV. Later Hindi Works

Lal's Chhatra Prakash.

A fine Hindi poet, Gorelal Purohit, commonly known as Lal, composed his 'Chhatra Prakash' about the Vikrama year 1764 or 1707 A.D., at the instance of his patron, Chhatra Sal of Panna in Central India. The work stops rather abruptly at

the year 1707. It has been published by the Kashi Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Benares. Lal traces the genealogy and describes the traditional exploits of the dynasty apparently on the basis of State records and so far shares the value of an original authority. The narrative broadens as the author approaches the reigns of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. Pogson based his 'History of the Bundelas' mostly on Lal.

The Bundelon ki Banshavali.

The library of His Highness the Maharaja of Chhatarpur, C.I., contains a Hindi manuscript, copied from an older manuscript many years ago, entitled 'Bundelon ki Banshavali' or a genealogy of the Bundelas, divided into two sections. The first section is devoted to what must be called the rudiments of political philosophy, while the second traces the genealogy and marriage-relationships of the various ruling families of the Bundela race. Unfortunately, it gives few dates but it is interspersed with remarks of considerable historical value.

V. Contemporary Jesuit Accounts

Monserrate.

Father Anthony Monserrate's 'Mongolicæ Legationis Commentarius.' A member of the First Jesuit Mission from Goa to the Mughal Court, Monserrate was with Akbar from 1580–1582. This MS. somehow "found its way to Calcutta in the beginning of the last century, and after passing successively through the Fort William College, the Metcalfe Hall and the Imperial Library, it was discovered in 1906 by the Rev. W. K. Firminger in St. Paul's Cathedral Library, Calcutta." The text was edited by Father Hosten and published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal as a memoir, Vol. III, No. 9, pp. 508–704, in 1914. An English translation by J. S. Hoyland with notes by S. N. Banerji has been published by the Oxford University Press. The work is valuable principally for the history of Akbar. It gives some information about the childhood of Prince Salim and his brothers and about Akbar's administrative system which continued in Jahangir's reign.

Du Jarric.

Father Pierre Du Jarric of Toulouse's 'Historie des choses plus memorables....en l' 'establissement et progrez de la foi Chrestienne et Catholique, et principalement de ce que les Religieux de la Com-Pagnie de Jesus y out faict et endure pour la mesme fin, etc.', first published in French at Arras in 1611. The third part published in 1614 deals with the last five years of Akbar's reign and the first of that of Jahangir.

A Latin version of the work, called 'Thesaurus Rerum Indicarum,' etc., was published within two years of the publication of the original. The third volume of the Thesaurus, Chapters XVI–XXIII, pp. 137–201, dèals with the history of Jahangir. I have used the Allahabad University copy, recently photographed from the Bodleian, Oxford, for the purpose. Du Jarric supplements the Persian historians in some particulars but does not supply much new information. He is sometimes wrong in his details.

Maclagan.

E. D. Maclagan's article, entitled 'Jesuit Missions to the Emperor Akbar' in the J.A.S.B., Part I, Vol. LXV, 1896, pp. 38–113, gives a fine summary of the principal Jesuit accounts, with the exception of that of Monserrate, till 1605. It is indispensable for the history of Prince Salim's religious beliefs and of his dealings with the Christians.

Hosten.

In the Punjab Historical Society's journal Father Hosten has translated the Jesuit account of Prince Khusrau's rebellion.

VI. Contemporary European Travellers and Factors

The chief value of the European accounts consists in the description of cities, court-scenes, court-festivals, processions, and sketches of the personages with whom the authors came into actual contact. Whenever they treat of matters beyond their immediate purview, they often go hopelessly astray. Their unfamiliarity with the country and its politics, their ignorance of Persian, their prejudices and their credulity made

it impossible for them rightly to interpret what they saw. They have, however, preserved many popular rumours about current affairs.

Most of the early seventeenth century travellers may be read in entirety or in part in Purchas his Pilgrimes, by the industrious Rev. Samuel Purchas (1625), enlarged from his earlier 'Purchas his Pilgrimage, or Relations of the World, etc.' (1613). I have used and referred to the best and latest edition, entitled 'Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrimes' published by MacLehose in 1905.

Hawkins.

'Captain William Hawkins his relations of the occurrents which happened in the time of his residence in India, in the countrie of the Great Mogoll, and of his departure from thence; written to the Companie' in 'Purchas his Pilgrimes' (ed. MacLehose), Vol. III pp. 1–50. Also in the 'Hawkins' 'Voyages.' My references are usually to the latter and sometimes to both.

William Hawkins left Tilbury on March 12, 1607, as Commander of the *Hector*, one of the three ships on the third voyage of the East India Company. He reached Surat on November 11, 1607, and proceeded forthwith to Agra. He finally left India on January 18, 1612, on board one of the vessels of Sir Henry Middleton's fleet. His account of the Nauroz celebration, the Emperor's weighing, the court, and Jahangir's daily life forms a first-hand, and, on the whole, thoroughly reliable source of information. His observations on the administrative system and the condition of the people should be received with caution. Evidently, he was something of a sensation-monger, and the anecdotes he relates are, obviously, parodies of what actually took place.

Sir Henry Middleton.

Sir Henry Middleton's 'Account of the Sixth Voyage set forth by the East India Company in three ships' in Purchas III, pp. 115–94. Notices of Indian affairs, not numerous, are to be found in pp. 170–85. The chief value of the account consists in the light it throws on the English trade with India and the relations of the English with the Portuguese. Middleton's

interview with Muqarrab Khan, Governor of Gujarat, on November 24, 1640, is interesting (p. 178).

'The voyage of Master Joseph Salbancke through India, Persia, part of Turkie, the Persian Gulf and Arabia 1609 (1610) written unto Sir Thomas Smith' in Purchas III, pp. 82–9.

Master Joseph Salbancke.

Salbancke, one of the principal subscribers to the East India Company, came out thrice to India. The part of his journal, extracted in Purchas, describes his journey from Surat to Agra, and thence overland through Southern Afghanistan and Persia to Baghdad. His jottings on the places he visited are interesting but rather vague. His correspondence in the Letters Received by the East India Company is more informing.

'Observations of William Finch, merchant, taken out of his large Journall' in Purchas IV, pp. 1–77. Observations on India are comprised in pp. 19–77. A fellow voyager of Hawkins, Finch stayed for a while at Surat and then proceeded to Agra. He travelled extensively over Northern India. On his way home by the overland he died at Baghdad. Chiefly valuable for the excellent descriptions of cities, towns, buildings, and roads. De Laet's account of the topography of the Mughal Empire is partly based on Finch.

William Finch.

Finch's history of Babur and Humayun (p. 56), Salim Shah Sur (p. 35), is rather fanciful. So recent an event as Prince Khusrau's rebellion (pp. 50-1) is related with numerous inaccuracies. He reproduces the ignorant bazaar gossip that prisoners in the fort of Ranthambhor were brought to the top of the wall, made to drink dishes of milk, and then dashed upon the rocks (p. 38). He gravely asserts that Jahangir affirmed before all his nobles that Christianity was the soundest faith, while that of Mahomet was lies and fables (p. 40). His notices of the Emperor's daily life and daily levies (pp. 73–5) and the Deccan War (pp. 29, 39).

'Extracts of a tractate, written by Nicholas Withington' in Purchas IV, pp. 162–74. Valuable for the notices of the plundering tribes near Thatta, of the manners of the people

and the serais in the country. Like so many other travellers, Withington dwells on the relations between the English and the Portuguese.

Nicholas Withington.

The 'Journal' of John Jourdain, edited by William Foster and published by the Hakluyt Society, No. XVI, Second Series. Valuable for the doings of English traders on the Western Coast, their relations with the Portuguese, and their treatment by the local authorities, and the notices of the cities and towns through which the author passed in the second decade of the seventeenth century.

Jourdain.

'A Journal of the Journey of Richard Steel and John Crowther' in Purchas IV, pp. 266–79. The record of their long journey from Ajmere to Ispahan in 1615-6 is replete with observations and personal reminiscences. Valuable for notices of towns, roads and the state of industry and commerce.

Steel and Crowther.

Sir Thomas Roe' 'Journall' in Purchas IV, pp. 310–468. A far better edition is the 'Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Great Mogul' edited by William Foster with a critical introduction, notes, and appendices, and published by the Hakluyt Society. I have referred to this edition. Born in 1580 or 1581 at Low Leyton in Essex, Roe entered Magdalen College, Oxford, in July, 1593. He was made an esquire to the body of Queen Elizabeth. Knighted in 1605. Formed close friendships with Prince Henry and Princess Elizabeth. Led a voyage of discovery to Guinea in February, 1610. Led other voyages to the same coast. Entered the Addled Parliament in 1614. Selected, at the instance of the East India Company, to represent James I at the court of Jahangir and try to secure further concessions for 'factories.' Sailed with fifteen followers on board the *Lion* on February 2, 1615. Cast anchor at Swally Road near Surat on September 18, 1615. Arrived at Ajmere, the then seat of the Imperial Court, on December 23, 1615. On recovery from an illness, presented himself at the court on January 10, 1616. Lived at the court at Ajmere till the following November, in touch with high personages, trying in vain to conclude a commercial treaty

Sir Thomas Roe.

between England and the Mughal Empire. Accompanied the Emperor to Mandu in November, 1616, and thence to Ahmadabad towards the close of 1617. Despairing of success in his mission, he left the court in 1618 as the Emperor was about to return to Agra. Reached England in 1619.

Roe's descriptions of the court of Prince Parvez at Burhanpur, the Imperial court and council at Ajmere, the Nauroz celebration, the Emperor's weighing and manner of life, his departure from Ajmere to Mandu are vivid and picturesque. His remarks on the characters of Jahangir, Shah Jahan, Nur Jahan, Asaf Khan, etc., are sometimes prompted by prejudice. He gives an interesting account of Prince Khusrau. His description of Abdullah Khan Firoz Jang's disgrace is valuable. His account of the court intrigues is picturesque and undoubtedly based on a *substratum* of fact but is unreliable in its details. He reflects very well the opinions current at court. The references to the plague supplement the account in the contemporary Persian documents. Needless to say, Roe throws a flood of light on the condition and prospects of English trade with India and the relations of the English with the Portuguese. Roe, however, is unreliable when he treats of matters beyond his own personal observation. His excursions into the domain of history, even that immediately preceding the accession of Jahangir, are ludicrous.

Terry.

The Rev. Edward Terry's 'Voyage to East India.' Written for the most part in 1622. Published in London in 1655. Reprinted in London in 1777. Many of the most important passages are given in Purchas (MacLehose), Vol. IX, pp. 1–54. My references are generally to the reprint of 1777 and sometimes also to Purchas.

Terry was born in 1590 at Leigh in Kent. Matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford, on July 1, 1608; graduated on November 26, 1611; and took the M.A. Degree in July 8, 1614; sailed as Chaplain on board the *Charles* of the East India Company in February, 1616. Reached Swally Road on September 25, 1616. Appointed to succeed the Rev. John Hall, deceased, as Chaplain to the English ambassador. Joined him in March,

1617. Accompanied his Lord Ambassador and the Imperial court to Ahmadabad in 1618. Sailed for England early in 1619, reaching the Downs on September 15, 1619. Wrote the 'Voyage' and presented it to the Prince of Wales. Published the same in 1655.

Terry's 'Voyage' constitutes one of the most important sources of our information. He supplements Roe's account of the life, character, and policy of Jahangir; the court, the council, the camp, the march. His descriptions of the 'influenza' in Gujarat in 1618 and the comet supplement the Persian chronicles. Likewise he has something to say about the Jesuits and the Portuguese. But the greatest value of his work consists in the light it throws on the manners and customs of the people. Unfortunately he shares the defects of Sir Thomas Roe and is not to be relied on in matters beyond his personal observation. His criticisms of Indian institutions, while always fresh and readable, are sometimes highly prejudiced and unjust.

Coryat.

Master Thomas Coryat's 'Crudities,' three volumes, Vol. III unpaged, comprises his letters from India. There is an important letter printed in Purchas IV, pp. 469–87. The part of his journal given in Purchas X, pp. 389–447, relates to his travels in Turkey, Asia Minor, and Palestine. He was one of the most eccentric of all seventeenth century visitors to India. There is no false modesty in the title of his work, but he gives a fine character-sketch of Jahangir.

P. Della Valle.

The 'Travels' of Pietro Della Valle, edited by Edward Grey with a critical introduction, notes, and index, and published by the Hakluyt Society, two volumes. Della Valle visited Constantinople in 1614; travelled through Asia Minor, Egypt and Palestine, and through Persia in 1616. 'No traveller,' says Gibbon, 'knew or described Persia as well as Pietro Della Valle.' He arrived at Surat in February, 1623, travelled on the Konkan and Malabar coasts and finally left India in December, 1624. All the information about India is contained in the first volume.

Della Valle describes the religious ceremonies and manners and customs of the people he saw. Gives a lifelike picture of the hospitals of animals in Cambay. Gives a running sketch of Mughal history and contemporary events, such as the rebellion of Shah Jahan, based on bazaar gossip. Briefly notices the affairs of the Nizam Shah, the Qutb Shah, and the Adil Shah, the three 'reguli' of the Deccan. It may be mentioned that Della Valle adopted the dress of the country in which he travelled.

De Laet.

John De Laet's 'De Imperio Magni Mogalis, sine India Vera, commentarius e variis auctoribus congestus,' first published by Elzevir at Leyden in 1631.

The first part, 'Descripto Indiæ,' based on Finch, Roe, Purchas, Peter Texeira and others, gives a valuable description of the Mughal Empire. The notices of the provinces and cities were translated by E. Lethbridge in the *Calcutta Review*, October, 1870, and January, 1871. My references are to this translation. The second part of De Laet's work is entitled 'Fragmentum Historiæ Indicæ' and was contributed by Peter Van den Brœcke, President of the Dutch Factory at Surat in the third decade of the seventeenth century. V. A. Smith holds that the 'Fragmentum' is based on a genuine chronicle of the empire, presumably written in Persian. E. Lethbridge translated the parts dealing with Humayun and Akbar in the *Calcutta Review*, July, 1873, pp. 170–200. The account of Jahangir's reign in the 'Fragmentum' agrees substantially with the Persian histories. On Khusrau's murder, it gives information not to be found in Persian works.

The other European accounts of India written during the reign of Jahangir are not of much historical value. The following are useful only for the contemporary state of English trade and the relations of the English with the Portuguese:—

Nicholas Dounton.

'Nicholas Dounton, Captain of the Peppercorne, a ship of two hundred and fifty tunes and Lieutenant in the sixth voyage to the East Indies set forth by the said Companie, his journall or certain extracts thereof' in Purchas III, pp. 194–304.

Extracts from his journal kept in the second voyage are given in Purchas IV, pp. 214–51.

Sir James Lancaster. 'A Journal kept in the Fourth Voyage,' in the 'Voyages of Sir James Lancaster.'

'A Journal kept in the Sixth Voyage, April, 1610–January, 1611,' in the 'Voyages of Sir James Lancaster.'

Thomas Love. 'Another Journal kept by Thomas Love, April, 1610–January, 1611,' in 'Lancaster' again.

Nathaniel Martens. 'Nathaniel Martens' Account of the Seventh Voyage' in Purchas III, pp. 304–19.

Captain Saris. 'A copy of the Journal of the Eighth Voyage, kept by Captain Saris, April, 1611–November, 1613 in Purchas III, pp. 357–519.

William Nicolo. 'The Report of William Nicolo, a mariner in the Ascension, who travelled from Bramport (Burhanpur) by land to Masulipatam,' etc. (1612), in Purchas III, pp. 72–82.

Master Thomas Best. Master Thomas Best's 'Journal of the Tenth Voyage of the East India' in Purchas IV, pp. 119–47.

Ralph Cross. 'Another Journal of the Voyage, kept by Ralph Cross, ending August 29, 1613.'

Master Copland. 'Certain observations written by others employed in the same voyage, Master Copland, Minister' in Purchas IV, pp. 147–54.

Robert Bonner Master in Purchas IV, pp. 154–62.

Master Elkington and Master Dodsworth. 'Relations of Master Elkington and Master Dodsworth' in Purchas IV, pp. 251–63.

Captain Walter Peyton. 'Captain Walter Peyton's Second Voyage,' pp. 289–309.

Roger Hawes. 'Memorials taken out of the Journal of 'Roger Hawes,' *Ibid.*, pp. 495-50

Alexander Childe. 'Alexander Childe,' *Ibid.*, 502–7.

Richard Swan. 'Richard Swan's Journall' in Purchas V, pp. 241–61.

Master Cæsar Frederick.

'Extracts of Master Cæsar Frederick, his eighteen years' Indian observations' in Purchas X, pp. 88–142.

Coverte.

Robert Coverte's 'Report, etc,' is a clear straightforward record of his experiences and observation. The notices of the places he visited are interesting. His account of past or contemporary political happenings is vitiated by numerous errors.

De Laval.

The voyage of (Francois) Pyrard de Laval, Vol. II, Part I, edited by Albert Gray and published by the Hakluyt Society. Partly in Purchas IX, pp. 503–70. The most readable of all European travellers in the East pays a most eloquent tribute to Indian craftsmen, artists, and traders (pp. 248-9). Chiefly valuable for contemporary Portuguese Indian history. His information about the interior of India, where he never went, was based mainly on hearsay and therefore often unreliable.

Don Duart de Menses.

'Don Duart de Menses, the Viceroy, his tractate of the Portugal Indies containing the Lawes, Customes, Revenues, Experiences and other matters remarkable therein' in Purchas IX, pp. 118–89. Gives a good picture of Portuguese administrative arrangements but is practically valueless for the Mughal Empire.

Linschoten.

Among the travellers who visited India shortly before the reign of Jahangir, the first place is claimed by the Dutchman, John Huighen van Linschoten. He visited India in 1583 and heard much about the interior of India. On his return to Holland he published his 'Voyages into the Easte and Weste Indies' which created a sensation over Europe. The work was translated into English in 1598. I have used the Hakluyt Society Publication I, 70-1. Some passages are translated in Purchas X, pp. 223–317. Some passages are translated in Purchas X, pp. 223–317. Linschoten had first-hand knowledge only of Goa. What he has to say about India was derived from hearsay.

'Ralph Fitch, England's Pioneer to India, Burma, etc.'

edited by J. H. Riley. Some passages are extracted in Purchas. I have usually referred to the former. Fitch visited Akbar's court in 1585. His description of Agra and Fathpur Sikri and the intervening tract is interesting. His notices of other places are rather meagre.

Ralph Fitch.

Various other journals of European visitors to India during Jahangir's reign are reproduced in entirety or in part in Purchas, Murray, and elsewhere, but they are too worthless even to deserve mention.

'Letters Received by the East India Company from its servants in the East,' transcribed from the 'Original Correspondence' series of the India Office records. Published in six volumes under the patronage of the Secretary of State for India in Council. They comprise the letters received during the years, 1602—17.

Letters Received by the East India Company.

	Volume	Editor	The years	Date of publication
1602-13	I.	Frederick Charles Danvers	1602-13	1896
1613-15	II.	William Foster	1613-15	1897
1615	III.	Do.	1615	1899
1616	IV.	Do.	1616	1900
1617	V.	Do.	Jan. to June. 1617	1901
1617	VI.	Do.	July to Dec. 1617	1902

Each volume is furnished with an excellent introduction and index. Invaluable for the beginnings of English commerce in the East and for an economic history of India during the early years of the seventeenth century. Besides, they throw interesting sidelights on contemporary personages, political and military events, epidemics, etc.

Exactly the same remarks apply to the following three volumes, all edited by William Foster and published under the authority of the Secretary of State for India:—

The English Factories in India.

1618-21. The English Factories in India, 1618—21.

1622-3. The English Factories in India, 1622–3.
1624-9. The English Factories in India, 1624–9.

The later volumes bring down the Factory Records to the year 1665, thus covering the whole of Shah Jahan's reign.

Sainsbury's Calendar. Mr. Sainsbury and Miss Sainsbury's Calendars of the East India Documents have been practically superseded by the series edited by Foster.

William Methold. William Methold came to India during Jahangir's reign but travelled only in the south.

VII. Later European Travellers and Factors

The European travellers who visited India during the reigns of the Emperors Shah Jahan (1627–58) and Aurangzeb (1658–1707) are valuable, like their predecessors, for notices of cities, court, camp, and army; and of the manners and customs and the social and economic condition of the people which, for the most part, continued throughout the seventeenth century to be what they were in its earlier part. The post-Jahangir travellers relate the history of Jahangir as it was current at the time of their visit.

Herbert. Sir Thomas Herbert's 'Description of the Persian monarchy now being the Orientall Indies and other parts of the Greater Asia and Afrik, 1634.' Herbert paid only a short visit to Surat but wrote an intelligent account of Jahangir's reign which was just over.

Peter Mundy. The 'Travels' of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608–67, edited by Lieut.-Colonel Sir Richard Carnac Temple with excellent notes and index and furnished with good maps and a bibliography. Published by the Hakluyt Society, Vol. II, entitled 'Travels in Asia,' 1628–34, comprises the account of India. Peter Mundy was selected a factor of the East India Company towards the close of 1627, left for India early in 1628, and landed at Surat in September, 1628. After two years' service at Surat he was sent northwards on the Company's business, and was thus given an

opportunity of travelling widely over Northern India. He finally left India in 1634.

Mundy's descriptions of Agra, Fathpur Sikri, Burhanpur, Patna, Ajmere, etc., is very valuable. He gives the best contemporary description of Khusrau's tomb at Allahabad. His political history of Jahangir's reign, however, is mostly legend.

Olearius.

Olearius's 'Travels,' though mostly connected with Shah Jahan's, contain notices of events of Jahangir's reign. They are not of much value.

Mandelslo.

'The Voyages and Travels of John Albert de Mandelslo....into the East Indies.' Of very little value for the reign of Jahangir.

Manrique.

'The Itinerio de las Missiones qui hizo el Padre Sebastian Manrique,' originally published at Rome in 1649 and reprinted in 1653. The original Spanish text is extremely rare. Mr. V. A. Smith says that both the issues are in the British Museum, while a copy of the original rests in the Bodleian, and one of the reprint in the Library of All-Souls' College, Oxford. The chapters relating to the Punjab have been translated by Maclagan in the Journal of the Punjab Historical Society, Vol. I, pp. 83–106, 151–66. Other chapters are translated in 'Bengal, Past and Present.' Volumes XII and XIII.

Bernier.

M. Francois Bernier's 'Travels in the Mogul Empire, 1656–68 A.D.', edited by Archibald Constable, on the basis of Irving Brock's translation. One of the most readable of travellers' accounts ever written. Bernier's criticism of Indian institutions is often biassed. He makes a few references to Jahangir's character, Nur Jahan's influence and the Emperor's patronage of Jesuits. He gives a capital description of Agra and Delhi.

Tavernier.

The 'Travels in India by Jean Baptise Tavernier, Baron of Aubonne.' The best version is that translated and edited with an introduction, notes, appendices, and index by V. Ball in two volumes. Published by Macmillan and Co., London, 1889. Tavernier made six voyages to the East from 1631–64. He visited India five times,

viz., in 1641, 1645, 1651, 1657, and 1664. The principal value of the work consists in the notices of towns and cities and the contemporary conditions of trade, specially that in diamands. The second book of the first volume is an attempt at an historical account but is a failure.

Thevenot.

The 'Travels' of Monsieur de Thevenot into the Levant in three parts. Translated into English in 1686. The first and second part relates Thevenot's travels through Europe, Turkey, and Persia. The third part, covering 200 pages, is devoted to the East Indies. Thevenot was devoted to travel and had no ulterior object in his wanderings. He kept his journal till a few days before his death on November 8, 1667, at Miana, about thirty leagues from Taurus in Asia Minor. One of the most informing of all European travellers in the East, specially valuable for notices of cities, towns, ports, customs and administrative arrangements and revenues.

Bowrey.

'A Geographical Account of Countries round the Bay of Bengal, 1669–79,' by Thomas Bowrey. Edited with an introduction, notes and index by Lieut.-Colonel Sir Richard Carnac Temple. Published by the Hakluyt Society. The character and value of the work are well expressed by its title.

Fryer.

'A New Account of East India and Persia, being nine years' travels, 1672–81,' by John Fryer. Edited with an introduction, notes, and index by William Crooke. Published in three volumes by the Hakluyt Society. Except for the notices of places, the work is worthless for the reign of Jahangir.

Manucci.

Niccolao Manucci's 'Storia do Mogor or Mughal India (1653–1708).' Translated and edited in a superb style by William Irvine in four volumes. Published by John Murray, London, in the India Text Series under the supervision of the Royal Asiatic Society. This edition supersedes the partial and garbled version of Catrou.

The first volume contains an account of Prince Salim (p. 131), of Jahangir's reign (pp. 157–78), of Nur Jahan (pp.

161–4), and of Bulaqi (pp. 178–81). All this is based on gossip and is almost entirely worthless for historical purposes.

VIII. Modern Works

(a) *Of Original Value*

i. English

'The Sikh Religion, Its Gurus, Sacred Writings and Authors', by Max Arthur Macauliffe in six volumes. The work does not aim at a critical exposition of the Sikh faith or Sikh history. It merely gives a fine English version of Sikh scriptures and traditions. As such, it ranks as an original authority. The third volume is devoted to the life and teachings of the fifth Guru Arjun, the compiler of the *Adi Granth*. The story of his death at the hands of Jahangir is related from the Sikh standpoint and is mixed with fable.

Macauliffe.

'The Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan or the Central and Rajpoot State of India,' by Lieut.-Colonel James Tod, in two volumes. The best and latest reprint is that published by George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., London. My references are to this issue.

Tod.

Tod avowedly offered his work 'as a copious collection of materials for the future historian.' As such he must rank as an original authority. He presents the Rajput view of events and transactions in India during the Mahommedan period. His dates and facts are sometimes wrong but he often supplies information not to be found elsewhere. Besides Jahangir's Rajput wars and relations with the Rajput princes, he has something on Khusrau's revolt, Shah Jahan's revolt and Mahabat Khan's *coup*.

L. P. Tessitori's 'Reports on the Historical and Bardic Survey of Rajputana' incidently supply some valuable historical information.

Tessitori.

The article in the 'Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society,' Vol. XV, 1919, No. 1 gives some quotations from the original

'Phalodhi Khyat' with their English translation which refer to Jahangir's early love with Nur Jahan, the circumstances of Sher Afkun's death, Prince Khusrau's murder and Shah Jahan's revolt.

Duff.

'A History of the Mahrattas,' by James Grant Duff, in three volumes. From the loss of the manuscripts used by the author, the work ranks partly as an original authority. I have used the reprint published by R. Cambray and Co., Calcutta, 1912. The second chapter of the first volume gives a short account of the history of the Deccan during Jahangir's reign from the Deccan view-point.

ii. Hindi

Bir Vinoda.

'A History of Rajputana,' by Kaviraj Shymal Das, based on Persian chronicles as well as on Rajput bardic literature. Compiled by order of the Udaipur Darbar and then suppressed. It is a work of the very highest historical value. I used a manuscript copy which I found at Jodhpur. A copy is preserved in the Library of the Kashi Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Benares. The portions dealing with the period covered by Jahangir's reign supply much new information.

Jahangirnama.

The Hindi translation of the 'Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri,' by Munshi Debi Prasad of Jodhpur, has the merit of correcting certain details about Rajput names and places.

(b) *General*

i. English

Gladwin.

'The History of Hindustan during the reigns of Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurungzeb,' by Francis Gladwin, Vol. I (the only volume published), Calcutta, 1788.

The work is based mainly on the 'Maasir-i-Jahangiri,' of which it is in fact an intelligent summary. Some help was

taken from Jahangir's memoirs. The first twelve pages, devoted to 'Particular events during the reign of Akbar relating to Sultan Salim,' give a succinct account of Prince Salim's revolt. The rest of the work follows the unsystematic, unscientific order of the Persian chroniclers of Jahangir's reign. Gladwin's work is remarkable for its accuracy. Unfortunately it is now very rare.

Elphinstone. Elphinstone's 'Histoy of India.' The chapter on Jahangir in the Tenth Book of the 'History' is based on Khafi Khan, Price's Jahangir, Gladwin's History, and Sir T. Roe's Journal. In spite of its imperfections it still remains the best short account of Jahangir's reign in English. My references are to the seventh edition, with notes and additions by E. B. Cowell. There the chapter on Jahangir covers pages 550–74.

V. A. Smith. V. A. Smith's 'Oxford History of India,' pp. 375–91. Comprehensive but rather unsympathetic.

Lane Poole. Stanley Lane Poole's 'Medieval India' in the Story of Nations Series, pp. 289–326. Brilliant but inadequate.

Kennedy. Kennedy's History of the Great Moghul,' The first chapter in Vol. II, pp. 1–33, is devoted to Jahangir. Readable but unscholarly.

Keene. G. H. Keene's 'History of India' Revised Edition. A fairly good short account.

Holden. Holden's 'Mogul Emperors of Hindustan.' The account of Jahangir's reign covers pages 207–69. A rather elementary work.

Dow. Lieut.-Colonel Alexander Dow's 'History of Hindustan,' Vol. III, pp. 1–112, are devtoed to Jahangir. Full of myths and legends. The author gives a very vivid but wholly unreliable account of Nur Jahan's life prior to her marriage with Jahangir.

Latif. The following three works by Sayyid Abdul Latif include short, uncritical accounts of the Emperor Jahangir's reign:—

1. 'Agra: Historical and Descriptive.'
2. 'The History of the Punjab.'
3. 'Lahore: Its History, Architecture, Remains and Antiquities.'

Wheeler.

J. Talboys Wheeler's 'History of India,' Vol. IV, Part I, Chapter V, pp. 191–250. Based on the gossiping accounts of European travellers The whole work is a product of colossal ignorance, irrational prejudice, unscientific imagination. The author utterly lacked the critical faculty and had no idea of scientific historical research.

ii Urdu

Zaka Ullah.

Maulvi Zaka Ullah's 'History of Hindustan' in Urdu in eight volumes. The sixth volume is devoted to the reign of Jahangir and covers 300 pages. Unfortunately, the author did not make any distinction between the several versions of Jahangir's memoirs and made very little use of the copious European sources.

(c) *Special*

i. English

Von Noer.

'The Emperor Akbar,' a conrtibution towards the history of India in the sixteenth century, by Frederick Augustus, Count of Noer, translated and in part revised by Annette S. Beveridge. Vol. II, Section V, Chapter III, pp. 367–404, for Salim's revolt and Abul Fazl's death, and Chapter IV, pp. 405–25, for Akbar's death. Von Noer's (or rather his editor, Dr. Buchwald's) conclusions about the causes of Salim's revolt are wrong.

V. A. Smith.

V. A. Smith's 'Akbar, the Great Mogul,' Chapter XI, pp. 301–27, for Salim's revolt and Akbar's last days and death. The author has critically examined and used the Jesuit sources of evidence.

The accounts of Salim's revolt in other modern histories of India or monographs on Akbar are too brief to deserve mention.

Stewart.

Stewart's 'History of Bengal.' Reprinted by the Bangabasi Press, Calcutta. Includes the history of Bengal during Jahangir's reign. The account of Nur Jahan's early life and Sher Afgun's death is quoted from Dow. Nor is the rest of the work free from errors.

Kincaid and Parasnis.

'A History of the Mahratta People,' by Kincaid and Parasnis. Vol. I includes a brief review of the Deccan history during Jahangir's reign.

Ranade.

M. G. Ranade's 'Rise of the Mahratta Power,' Vol. I. all published. A brilliant and penetrating study of the sources of the strength of the Mahrattas in the seventeenth century.

Gribble.

J. D. B. Gribble's 'History of the Deccan,' Luzac and Co., 1896. Based mainly on Elliot and Dowson's history and Bombay Gazetteers. The events of Jahangir's reign are viewed from the Deccan point of view.

Haig.

Haig's 'Historical Landmarks in the Deccan' contains interesting descriptions of the forts and their histories.

Pogson.

Pogson's 'History of the Bundelas' is based mainly on Lal's 'Chhatr Prakash.' The book is now out of print.

Holdich.

Sir Thomas Holdich's 'Gates of India.' Valuable for the North-West Frontier troubles. Contains a fine orographical map of Afghanistan and Baluchistan.

Raverty.

Major Raverty's 'Notes on Afghanistan. Valuable for the history of Afghanistan in Jahangir's reign.

Moreland.

Moreland's 'India at the Death of Akbar.' A critical study of Indian economic conditions in the seventeenth century based on the 'Ain-i-Akbari' and contemporary European accounts. Rather biassed against the Mughals. For detailed criticism see my article in the *Modern Review*, January, 1921.

'Promotion of Learning in India during Muhammadan Rule (by Muhammadans)' by Narendra Nath Law. Longmans, Green and Co., 1916, pp. 173—80. Gives a short account of Jahangir's education and patronage of learning.

Law.

William Irvine's 'Army of the Indian Moghuls, Its Organization and Administration' (Luzac, 1903). Based on the 'Ain-i-Akbari' and numerous Persian works composed during the later Mughal period. A scholarly work giving an accurate account of the Mughal army so far as it can be gleaned from Persian sources.

Irvine.

'The Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire in India from A.D. 1593 to A.D. 1707,' a supplement to the Chronicles by Edward Thomas. The conclusions of the author are based on insufficient data.

Thomas.

Blochmann's 'Lives of the Grandees of the Mughal Empire in Akbar's Reign' given in his English version of the 'Ain-i-Akbari,' pp. 358—537. Based mainly on 'Maasir-ul-umara.' The careers of mnay of the nobles of Jahangir's reign are touched on.

Blochmann.

T. W. Beale's 'Oriental Biographical Dictionary,' edited by H. G. Keene. Allen and Co., 1894. A most useful work of reference. The sketches, however, are very short and mistakes numerous.

Beale.

Heber's 'Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India from Calcutta to Bombay, 1824-5,' in three volumes. Valuable for the condition and ruins of historical places as they existed in the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Heber.

I have freely used the Imperial, Provincial, and District Gazetteers for geographical detail, for which, indeed, they are invaluable. The historical portions of the Gazetters are to be used with caution.

The Imperial Gazetteers.

Among other modern works of reference I have used Keene's Handbooks: Agra, Delhi, Allahabad, Lucknow, Benares, etc.

Keene.

Murray. Murray's 'Handbook for Bengal,' ed. 1882.

Temple. Sir R. Temple's 'Hyderabad, Kashmir, Sikkim and Nepal,' in two volumes. London, Allen and Co., 1887.

Elphinstone. Elphinstone's 'Caboul.'

ii. Bengali

Bannerji. Rakhal Das Bannerji's 'History of Bengal,' in two volumes in Bengali, supplies little new information.

Roy. Nikhil Chandra Roy's 'History of Murshidabad,' in two volumes in Bengali, supplies some new details about Usman's revolt in Bengal.

iii. Urdu

Zaka-Ullah. Zaka-Ullah's 'History of Hindustan,' in Urdu, Vol. VII, which is devoted to Shah Jahan, contains a review of the events in Jahangir's reign from Shah Jahan's standpoint.

Azad. The 'Darbar-i-Akbari,' by Maulana Mohammad Husain Azad, also contains the biographies of Akbar's prominent nobles who survived into the reign of Jahangir.

iv. Hindi

Ram Nath Ratnu. Ram Nath Ratnu in his Rajput History supplements Tod in certain particulars. The work is now out of print. The author's untimely death was a loss to scholarship.

Surya Mal. Surya Mal's 'Bansha Bhaskar' compiled in the 19th century from Bundi Records includes a running narrative of the events of Jahangir's reign.

Lajja Ram Mehta. Lajja Ram Mehta's 'Parakrami Mada Rao' gives a life of Mada Rao, mainly from Bansha Bhaskar. It also includes a brief narration of the principal events of Jahangir's reign.

IX. Architecture and Painting

Reports of the Archæological Survey of India. 'Reports of the Archæological Survey of India,' 1871–87, edited by Sir Alexander Cunningham.

Annual Reports of the Archæological Survey of India. 'The Annual Reports of the Archæological Survey of India.' New Imperial Series, from 1902-3 to date. Edited by Sir J. H. Marshall.

E. W. Smith. 'The Moghul Architecture of Fathpur Sikri, described and illustrated,' in four volumes, by E. W. Smith. Government Press, Allahabad, 1894–8.

E. W. Smith. 'Akbar's tomb, Sikandarah, near Agra, described and illustrated,' by E. W. Smith. Published by the the Government Press, Allahabad, 1909.

Fergusson. 'History of Indian and Eastern Architecture,' by James Fergusson, revised and edited, with additions by James Burgess and Rhene Spiers. My references are to this edition. Published by John Murray, London, 1910.

Havell. 'Indian Sculpture and Painting,' by E. B. Havell.

V. A. Smith. 'A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon,' by V. A. Smith. Published by the Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1911.

The works noted above as well as the 'Journal of Indian Art and Industry' contain numerous pictures of seventeenth century personages and pictorial representations of contemporary events. A vast number of similar paintings are preserved in the libraries of Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Benares and Jodhpur; in the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Patna; in the Fort Museum, Delhi; with L. Sri Ram, M.A., of Delhi; and doubtless in many other private collections.

X. Literature

i. Persian

The works of many of the Persian poets of Jahangir's reign are preserved in MSS. in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. No general survey has yet been attempted. Urfi's verses on Prince Salim's beauty which made a powerful impression on him have been printed. It may be mentioned in passing that the Khuda Bakhsh Library, Bankipore, contains the great calligraphist Mir Ali's copy of Jami's 'Yusuf wa Zulaikha,' for which the Emperor Jahangir paid 1000 gold mohurs. It also contains the 'Diwan-i-Hafiz' on which Jahangir took omens, with marginal notes in the emperor's own hand.

The 'Farhang-i-Jahangiri,' a fine Persian dictionary compiled by Jahangir's orders, is not rare. A copy is preserved in the Library of His Highness the Maharaja of Benares.

Besides the Maasir-i-Rahimi already noticed, mention may be made of Abdunnabi Fakhruz Zamani who composed his Maikhana during the reign of Jahangir. It gives an excellent account of some of the contemporary poets.

Aiman Razi wrote his biographical Haft Aqlim during the reign of Jahangir. Its notices of the poets are valuable and trustworthy.

ii. Hindi

Shiva Singh Sainger.

Shiva Singh Sainger compiled and published a survey of mediaeval Hindi poets, giving biographical sketches and samples of composition. The work is now out of print.

Grierson.

Sir G. Grierson's 'Vernacular Literatures of Hindustan' covers the same ground though in a more critical fashion.

Misra Brothers.

Both the works are superseded by the Misra Brothers' comprehensive survey of Hindi literature in three volumes, published by the Hindi Granth Prasarak Mandali, Khandawa.

The reports of the Kashi Nagari Sabha on the search for Hindi MSS. contain an enormous amount of indigested matter.

Reports on the search for Hindi MSS.

iii. Bengali

'History of Bengali Language and Literature,' by Dinesh Chandra Sen. The standard work in English on the intellectual condition of Bengal during the Mughal period.

Dinesh Chandra Sen.

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History of Jahangir

BY

BENI PRASAD, M.A., PH.D., D.SC. (LONDON)

A FEW OPINIONS

Mr. H. Beveridge in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1923 :

"This is a valuable addition to recent works on Indian History..........The author has used all, or nearly all, the available sources, and he has used his material with judgment and acumen........Mr. Beni Prasad has in a manner exhausted the subject of Jahangir......We can say that the world has now learnt all that it need know about him. (Jahangir)."

Journal of the American Oriental Society, 1923 :

"A very complete and detailed account of the turbulent reign of the son and successor of Akbar, based on original sources, including many not utilized heretofore. One of the most interesting and valuable Chapters is the long one on "Mughal Government", which throws much light on the political machinery of the period."

Mr. A. Yusuf Ali in the Journal of Indian History, 1922-23 :

....The volume "is an excellent beginning and promises to place Allahabad in the front rank among the centres of historical study in India......No sources of information, however minute, that could throw the least light on Jahangir's period, have been neglected..........His narrative flows in a broad lucid stream, while admirable footnotes supply copious references and discuss minute points of scholarship......Many of the cobwebs of history have been swept away by his unrelent-

ing examination of the authorities...... The account of the Mughal Government......is......excellent."

Dr. L. D. Barnett in the Bulletin of Oriental Studies, London Institution, 1923-25 :

"He (the author) gives us a picture of man in the setting of his age, in which every line is drawn with painstaking labour from the best sources, both native and European."

S. M. Edwards in the Indian Antiquary, 1924 :

"Professor Beni Prasad introduces us for the first time to various contemporary, and therefore important, Persian Chronicles of the Emperor's reign, and by carefully sifting these and comparing them with contemporary European evidence, Rajput Chronicles, and later records, has produced a very complete if withal succinct review of Jahangir's life and reign......The chapters on Mughal Government, Mewar, Shah Jahan's rebellion, Mahabat Khan's coup-de-main and on Nur Jahan, deserve close study and constitute a valuable addition to our knowledge of the period."

The Times of India :

"This is really a first class work."

Prof. E. G. Brown, Cambridge :

"A first class work."

The Pioneer :

"A singularly readable and well-balanced account. The book before us constitutes a valuable link in the growing chain which will ultimately connect the founder of the Mughal Empire with his last ruling descendant, and in its solid scholarship, painstaking industry, and sustained impartiality will rank with standard works."

By the same Author

Theory of Government in Ancient India

(POST-VEDIC)

A thesis approved for the degree of Ph.D. (Econ.) in the University of London

WITH A FOREWORD BY

ARTHUR BERRIEDALE KEITH, D.Litt., D.C.L.

Professor of Sanskrit, University of Edinburgh

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EXTRACTS FROM DR. KEITH'S FOREWORD

"Recognition of the difficulties of the current ascription (of the Arthaśâstra of Châṇakya) by Professor Beni Prasad has enabled him to present the valuable material of the work in its true perspective, and this fact gives at once a special importance to his able, elaborate, and carefully thought-out presentation of the Theory of Government in Ancient India......His study of political science has enabled him more effectively than his predecessors to bring out in Chapters I and XII the fundamental characteristics, the merits and the shortcomings of Indian doctrines. Treated as contributions to the art of government, the political writings reviewed by the author present a wealth of interesting matter, illuminating the whole course of Indian history, and exhibiting many of the merits, as well as some of the defects, of the Indian intellect. The author has been at pains to cover the ground adequately; he has given the essential data from the epics, the Dharma Sūtras and Śâstras, the comentators, the Purâṇas, and the Nītiśâstras, and not less interesting are his chapters on Buddhist and Jaina theories and on the political ideas which

are found in the secular non-technical literature (VIII and X). A sketch of the theory of the government of corporations (XI) is of special importance, for, while the central administration of Indian States might change in form and function, there remained as a basis of stability the corporate life of the smaller social groups, whose solidarity enabled the Indian States to survive repeated onslaughts. In this as in other chapters it is possible to disagree on matters of detail with the author, but in essentials he presents a just and trustworthy account of Indian thought, and his work should serve to dispel the prevalent impression that India in ancient times was pre-eminently a land of transcendental philosophers and had no place for men of practical thought, skilled in statecraft and capable of wise and efficient government."

OPINIONS AND REVIEWS

1. *Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganga Nath Jha, M.A., D.Litt., Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University*:

....Allow me please to congratulate you on the very sound method you have adopted in the treatment of the subject.

2. *Dr. L. D. Barnett, M.A., D.Litt., School of Oriental Studies, London University* :

....It is a remarkable able work and will be very useful.

3. *Prof. E. J. Rapson, Professor of Sanskrit, University of Cambridge* :

....The author has explored the original sources of information with great care, and he has given us a very useful and readable account of administration in Ancient India....

4. *Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Professor, University of Dacca* :

....It is a valuable addition to the literature on the subject.

5. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society :*

Prof. Beni Prasad has tried, by reference to original authorities, to describe in detail the basic principles of Government

in Ancient India and he has traced the growth of ideas about Government and the State from the Vedic times right down to the days of classical Sanskrit literature, and he has performed his task in a very commendable manner indeed.

....To a student who carefully studies this work, the conclusion is irresistible that (to use the words of Professor A. B. Keith who writes a foreword to the book) the author's "work should serve to dispel the prevalent impression that India in ancient times was pre-eminently a land of transcendental philosophers and had no place for men of practical thought, skilled in statecraft and capable of wise and efficient Government." To dispel such wrong impressions entertained due to ignorance or to mischievous intention is a great service both to the people of India and to historical research, and Dr. Beni Prasad deserves to be congratulated on having written a book which will serve as a safe guide to all those who wish to know the truth about ancient India.

6. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London :*

Professor Beni Prasad in this work shows the same qualities that mark his excellent monograph on Jahangir: wide reading, lucidity and simplicity of style, and (a rare precious virtue) sober and sound judgment, which enable him to grasp the essential facts of his subject and contemplate them with clear vision, unclouded by prejudices and mirages. Such sobriety and accuracy of thought are peculiarly needful in dealing with Indian culture, which as he truly remarks, is characterised by "an emotional flow and vibration, which, on the whole, militates against rigidity of discipline and organization," and is hence often liable to misunderstanding. . . . . . .

The chapter on Buddhist and Jain theories is particularly interesting, and the data gathered from Jain literature will be new to most readers . . . .

Regarded as a whole, the book is very good, and the reader will heartily endorse Professor Keith's commendation of it as an able and carefully thought-out presentation of the subject.

The State in Ancient India

A Study in the Structure and Practical Working of Political Institutions in North India in Ancient Times

A thesis approved for the degree of D.Sc. (Econ.) in the University of London

Price Rs. 10/-

The work treats of the development, in the chronological order, of Hindu kingship, administrative and judicial institutions, federal and feudal tendencies, scope of state activities, the mutual relations of the governments and people, and the influence of the state on the moral and material welfare of the comunmity. It also traces the survival of Hindu elements in the political organisation of mediæval India. The work is based on an exhaustive study of Contemporary Inscriptions, Coins, Seals, Greek, Chinese and Arab accounts, and Sanskrit and Pâli literatures—religious as well as secular, Brahmanic, Buddhist and Jaina. A good deal of the original material is used here for the first time. The writer enunciates new conclusions on many of the topics dealt with.

OPINIONS

1. *Prof. A. B. Keith, M.A., D.C.L., D.Litt., of the University of Edinburgh :*

....Excellent treatise. I have read it with pleasure and profit . . . .

2. *Dr. L. D. Barnett, M.A., D.Litt., School of Oriental Studies, London University :*

....Your books seem to me to be exactly what is needed—sound and sensible.

3. *The Indian Thinker, Trivandrum :*

....The book deserves a close study by all students of Indian history and culture . . . . .

4. *The Journal of Oriental Research, Madras :*

....The author has done full justice to the subject and conveyed to the western world a fairly accurate idea of the science of Government in Ancient India. We congratulate the Indian Press Ltd., on the neat printing and get-up of the two books.

5. *The Leader, Allahabad :*

....We have no hesitation in strongly recommending this book to all students of ancient Indian culture. It will also throw light on the problems of constitution-making for India in which her people are at present engaged. The get-up and printing maintain the reputation of the publishers......

6. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society :*

....The author displays a spirit of reasonable discussion, and has handled controversial points with praiseworthy balance of judgment. He has not only utilised the old epics but has also made use of the works of Sanskrit classic poets like Kalidas in the course of his investigation. That is a departure from the beaten path, but it is a welcome departure. To essay the survey of a literature extending over nearly three thousand years for the purpose of extracting a particular kind of information was by no means an easy task. It is a matter for profound satisfaction that Dr. Beni Prasad has performed that task with conspicuous ability.

....The work under review has been prepared with great care, and the spirit of true scientific investigation is evident throughout its five hundred pages. Liberal use has been made of original sources in the Vedic and the post-Vedic Sanskrit literature in gleaning relevant information, and no important foreign source is neglected.

7. *Dr. Jarl Charpentier in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London :*

One cannot fail to notice that wide scope of the author's reading, which only very seldom leaves out any work of importance, and one is also bound to admit that his general principles are sound and attractive to the Western mind . .

Altogether it is a pleasure to state that Dr. Beni Prasad has here given us another work which may not only be perused with genuine interest, but is also of great and indisputable use to every scholar interested in the history and institutions of Ancient India.

Jarl Charpentier in the Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution :

Mr. Beni Prasad, some years ago made himself known by his careful and generally sound History of Jahangir. He has quite recently issued two bulky books, of which one deals with the theory of Government in Post-Vedic India, the other one being the work which we have the pleasure of reviewing here. We should like to say at once that Mr. Beni Prasad also in this work reveals himself as a careful and conscientious scholar with a power for sifting evidence which is, unfortunately, not found in all those of his countrymen who have lately taken to writing the political and administrative history of Ancient India.

It must also be emphasized that Mr. Beni Prasad is a scholar in possession of a very wide reading who knows not only the standard works on his subject, but is also acquainted with the main contents of Western Oriental Journals as far as they are of importance to his researches. As for the general principles

laid down in Chapter I, they are on the whole remarkably sound, and we should like to recommend various writers—not only the countrymen of Mr. Beni Prasad—to take them into due consideration. . . . .

The bibliography which runs through some thirteen pages is modelled on European principle and the index is a full and quite valuable one.

A Few Suggestions on the Problem of the Indian Constitution

OPINIONS AND REVIEWS

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru :

"....I have read a considerable portion of the book with great interest and admiration both for its manner of exposition and for suggestions. I think this is a book which should attract public attention. Dr. Beni Prasad has in my judgment rendered a distinct service to the country at this juncture."

Prof. A. E. Zimmern, Department of International Intellectual Co-operation, League of Nations, Geneva :

"This is a contribution of permanent value."

The Indian Daily Mail, Bombay :

"....It is a very thoughtful work in which Dr. Beni Prasad brings his wide study of the constitutions of all the progressive countries of the world to bear upon the conditions obtaining in India."

The Pioneer :

"Dr. Beni Prasad's work deserves serious consideration as it deals with a subject of absorbing interest for thinking Indians of to-day. Coming as his book does in the wake of the Report of the All-Parties Conference it provides useful supplementary reading on the same subject. The suggestions embodied in this work, though they agree on vital points with the recommendations of the All-Parties Conference, are more fully worked out in important details and each argument is backed by evidence drawn from almost all parts of the world. This working of details has sometimes revealed interesting points of difference."

The Bombay Chronicle :

'Dr. Beni Prasad is already well-known as the author of "History of Jahangir," "The Theory of Government in Ancient India" (Post-Vedic) and "The State in India". His latest book is of a more popular and practical character and in the writing of it he has evidently derived considerable benefit from his first-hand study of the constitutions and political institutions of foreign countries like England, France, Germany, Austria, Holland, Switzerland and Czecho-Slovakia which he recently visited. His intimate knowledge of the present political conditions in India, his valuable research in India's past history and politics, and his searching examination of foreign constitutions have produced an excellent book which every student of Indian politics can read with much profit.

'The book is an excellent supplement to text-books like those by Leacock or Gettle on the one hand and, on the other, to a Constitution like that framed by the Nehru Committee. One of the best chapters in the book is that which deals with Rights and Duties, with special reference to the rights of minorities.'

The Forward :

"The book is replete with valuable information and suggestions. In fact the book forms one of the best compendiums for the discussion of all the available theories on the constitution-making in India. It is hoped that the book will receive a wide patronage."

United India and Indian States :

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OPINIONS

P. M. S. in *The United India and Indian States*

The book is a very good introduction to the science of civics. It is written in a simple and clear style. After explaining the scope and method of civics, the author deals with society and individuals. Then the duties and rights of citizenship are discussed. Another chapter traces the growth of the idea of citizenship. The importance of education to civic life is emphasised. The chapters on the family and the state are very interesting. The book is in every way a masterly introduction which even a High School boy can easily understand. It is well printed on good paper and neatly bound, which cannot always be said of many of our Indian publications.

K. A. N. in *The Hindu*

The choice of topics for treatment, and the order in which they are presented give evidence of much careful thinking that has gone into the planning of the book. "One of the most expressive definitions of Civics is that it consists in the right ordering of loyalties." (p. 16). Much may be got from this little book, directly and indirectly, towards such an end. The author is perfectly at home in his subject, is widely read and commands a clear and accurate style.

The book is on the whole a very suitable manual for use in schools and colleges, and for the general reader. There is a brief and helpful bibliography.

K. K. Iyengar in *The Servant of India*

"This is a very welcome publication on the subject of civics by the well-known historian of Jahangir and author of such Indian historical studies as 'The State in Ancient India' and 'Theory of Government in Ancient India'. After indicating the scope and method of civics in the opening chapter, the learned author takes the reader through enlightening dissertations on Society and the Individual, Duties and Rights, Citizenship, Education, Family, Associations, States, Neighbourhood, Public Opinion and the Civic Life, and presents in the end a brief and useful bibliography. Though the subjects appear to be of wide and general import, the author has very skilfully applied scientific deduction to Indian conditions, which is no common merit. Refreshingly free from obtrusive quotations and repetitions, the main topics are analysed and presented in a succinct and intelligent manner by a masterhand, crisp and concise sentences succeeding one another like links forged on a chain. The book is uniformly well-written and eminently suited to the college student."

B. N. V. in *The Leader*

"Civics is a comparatively new subject recently introduced in intermediate colleges. Instead of an elaborate treatment of the subject in fat volumes which students of the intermediate class have neither the ability to understand nor the capacity to assimilate what they read, a clear and concise narration of the salient features in an easily understandable and interesting style is more useful. This purpose is very well served by the book under review. As has been pointed out in the preface, the book 'is intended to serve as an introduction to the study of civics', and 'the treatment is objective and concrete rather than abstract and philosophical'. It is just suited to the needs of those for whom it is meant.

"Dr. Beni Prasad's claim to write a book on civics is indisputable. His knowledge of the subject is wide and thorough.

That he has performed the task to which he has addressed himself well and successfully is amply borne out by the pages that follow the preface."

The Hindustan Times

"It is a straightforward discussion of the first principles of citizenship..........The book is written in a simple, clear style. It is essentially a book of the moment and any reader who goes through it will find his labours richly rewarded."

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OPINIONS

The Financial Post, Toronto, Canada

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"But most of it is so narrow in scope and so prejudiced in viewpoint, as to be quite worthless except as an evidence of the narrowmindedness and ignorance even of some 'authorities'.

"After one has read a few dozen books, assigning a few dozen different causes for our social and economic ills, after one has studied a few score quite different solutions for these ills, after one has veered from Anarchy to Communism and from Individualism to Socialism, from Autarchy to Free Trade, from Managed Currency to the international gold standard and comes out of a batch of printer's ink dipping wet with greasy philosophies, then such a book as 'The Democratic Process' presents the sparkle, the clarity and the refreshment of fine old wine.

"The author, who is a distinguished East Indian scholar, has taken a position so far back from the problems of the world that he views them, as it were, through an interplanetary telescope and sees them not only in focus but in their relation one to the other.

"Dr. Prasad's system is that of scientific analysis of all the factors entering into the world's situation. He has drawn upon

literally hundreds of sources. He seeks no facile compromise between utterly conflicting viewpoints. Rather he tries to measure, in politics, economics and sociology the extent of scientific truth that there may be in any particular philosophy or school of thought, an exceedingly difficult task which is handled not only with dexterity but with a simplicity that is appealing to the average reader. Driving carefully through the problems of production, population, mechanisation, race and nationhood, distribution, etc., he comes to the final discussion of the machinery of the democratic state and the role of Democracy in creating the better world of the future.

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The Hindustan Review

"The book surveys the problems of production, population, race, nation, social control and government in a strikingly original fashion, and offers a synthetic view of the new order implicit in recent developments in the realm of applied science ....It is a challenging and highly stimulating book, which ought to be read widely and appreciatively by all reformers and students of human welfare."

N. S. SUBBA RAO in *The Hindu*

"Dr. Prasad has given us a solid volume. The work abounds in learning of a wide and deep character, and democracy is presented not as a mere political phenomenon but as a basic condition of society permeating various spheres of human activity.........."

E. ASIRVATHAM in *The Servant of India*

"This book will be greatly welcomed by all those who have been watching with interest and, perhaps, with some anxiety, recent attacks on democracy. In dealing with democracy, Dr. Beni Prasad is wise in giving it the widest possible meaning........"

"The author is to be congratulated on his width of learning and the rare practical bent of mind which characterises his work. The book abounds in copious illustrations from history and footnotes containing extracts from recognised authorities on the subject discussed........"

C. in the *Modern Review*

"In this book Dr. Beni Prasad has presented a searching analysis of the psychological and historical factors in the world situation to-day..........He has sought to broaden the foundations oı Political Science and to amplify its categories."

M. P. S. in *The Leader*

"......Incidental to the main argument, there come up also for discussion most of our major socio-political problems of the present day and the author tackles them with a wealth of learning and argument. He draws upon a wide range of sources—standard works on politics, economics, sociology, anthropolgy, and eugenics, reports of the various national and international organisations, and the current periodical literature of the various sciences—to marshal facts and figures in support of his arguments. One may not agree with all the conclusions of the author........

"But one cannot question the constructive value of many of his suggestions. Altogether, the book is a scholarly production which is a valuable contribution to contemporary political thought. It deserves a close study by every serious student of political science, who will find much food for thought in its pages."
